



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

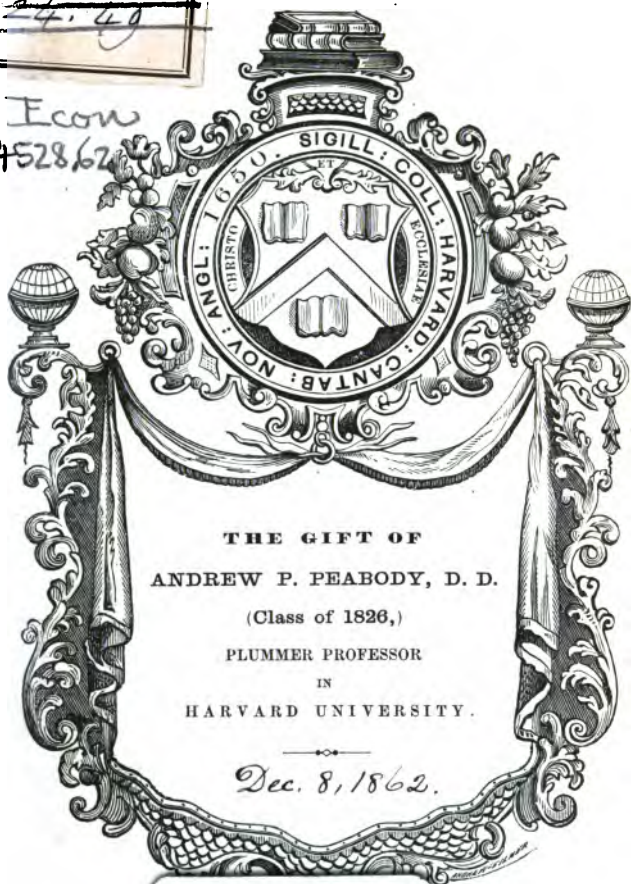
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



HN TERF 5

24.40
Econ

452862



THE GIFT OF
ANDREW P. PEABODY, D. D.

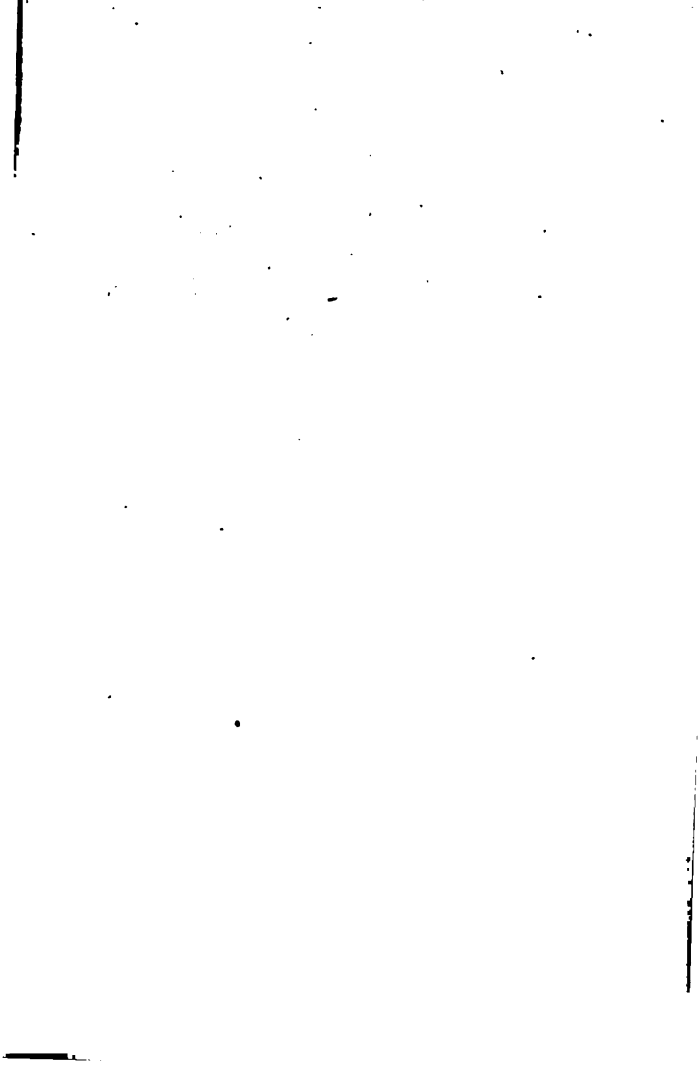
(Class of 1826,)

PLUMMER PROFESSOR

IN

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Dec. 8, 1862.





Presented, at the suggestion of
Mrs. Dr. Boyle, to Prof. A. Peabody
of Cambridge College, by
The Author.

August, 1862.

2. The first part of the

of the first part of the

of the first part of the

THE
HONEST MAN'S BOOK
OF
FINANCE AND POLITICS,

SHOWING THE CAUSE AND CURE OF
ARTIFICIAL POVERTY, DEARTH OF EMPLOY-
MENT, AND DULLNESS OF TRADE.

IN TWO PARTS.

**PART I. PAPER MONEY AND SPECULATION, USURY
AND INCREASE.**

**PART II. THEORY OF A PERFECT CURRENCY AND
A PERFECT GOVERNMENT.**

By John West.

Right is the only cure for Wrong.

NEW-YORK:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.
1862.

[ADVERTISEMENT.]

A Book for The Times, and for All Time.

PRICE 50 CENTS.

THE HONEST MAN'S BOOK OF FINANCE AND POLITICS contains a distinct view of the essential Certainties of Political Science, leaving all secondary and doubtful questions in the background.

It exposes the elementary causes of our financial disorders, and shows how the existing evils of the business world may be removed.

It brings out clearly, and without passion, the Suppressed Truths of Political Science, giving to each its due weight, and no more.

It handles with true surgical coolness the worst sores of the body politic, shrinking from no necessary infliction of pain, and abstaining from all useless invective.

SOLD BY

SINCLAIR TOUSEY, 121 Nassau-st. N. Y.

HENRY DEXTER, 113 "

BELA MARSH, 14 Bromfield-st., Boston.

F. PITMAN, 20 Paternoster Row, London.

Entered, according to act of Congress, in the year 1862,
by JOHN WINDT, in the Clerk's Office of the District
Court of the southern district of New-York.

Econ 4528, 62

1852, n. c. s.

Gift 17

Rev. Andrew P. P. B. B. B.

(Times, 1826)

CONTENTS.

PREFACE,.....	v
PERSONAL EXPLANATION,.....	xi

PART I.

ESSAY I. <i>The Use of Paper Money as a Supporter of Interest, a Stimulus to Trade, and a Preparative for a Perfect Currency,</i>	29—99
---	-------

§ 1. Analysis of Paper Money—Secret of its Power,	29
§ 2. The principle of Increase, its tendencies and its fruits,	32
§ 3. How Usury or Increase affected the world in ancient times, and how it was esteemed by the ancient Teachers and Prophets,	47
§ 4. The merits of the Feudal System—Growth of Usury since that system began to decay,	64
§ 5. Usury, as it becomes general, necessitates Adulteration of the Currency, or Repudiation in some shape,	70
§ 6. The effects of a Debased Currency upon Industry, Wages and Trade,	72
§ 7. The final effects of the Paper Stimulus deadening—Eventual fall of the Paper System certain,	80
§ 8. The whole matter in a religious point of view, Summary,	90 97

ESSAY II. <i>The General Nature and History of the Modern Banking System—Origin and Office of Money,</i>	101—112
--	---------

ESSAY III. <i>The 'Protective System' no corrective of the evils caused by Paper Money—Maxims,</i>	118—185
--	---------

PART II.

ESSAY IV. *The Idea of a Perfect Currency ; or, How to perfect Money as an Instrument and destroy it as a Power,* 139-199

- § 1. The Nature and Use of Money, 140
- § 2. What kind of Money is best, and the Principle which ought to regulate the Currency, 142
- § 3. Money must not only be rationally constructed, but honestly used, or it will work evil instead of good, 150
- § 4. Credit, 151
- § 5. How Trade may be opened to small Capitalists, and be active, without any Money-Debts, or any hazard to the Merchant, 157
- § 6. The establishment of a Perfect Currency not only possible and desirable, but probable also, 169
- § 7. Of Rights in general, and Rights of Property in particular, 177
- § 8. The Interests involved in the establishment and perfect working of a Just Monetary System, 187

ESSAY V. *The Idea of a Perfect Democracy or Government of True Manliness,* 200-286

- § 1. The Democratic Principle defined, and Errors concerning its Nature corrected, 201
- § 2. Wisdom the life of all True Government, 206
- § 3. How to give the Democratic Principle an Efficient Organism.—Chief causes of past failures, 210
- § 4. Who ought to possess the Elective Franchise, 218
- § 5. How to prevent Electors from betraying their trust, 227
- § 6. Conclusion, 230
- Postscript, 233

ESSAY VI. *Self-Government,* 237-250

ESSAY VII. *The Dominion of Bribery ; or, the Kingdom of Mammon,* 251-287

P R E F A C E .

THAT our present Business System, or system of wealth-production and wealth-distribution, is quite defective somewhere, these facts bear witness, viz.:

I. Owing to modern discoveries in science and improvements in machinery, a day's work can produce twice as much wealth in most trades, and in some a hundred times as much, as a day's work produced sixty years ago; yet poverty and bankruptcy are far more prevalent now than they were in the presidency of Jefferson.

II. With such tools only as they could make of bone, or wood, or stone, and with a chemistry that hardly extended beyond the knowledge and use of fire, the Indians whom our fathers supplanted were able to provide themselves with the necessaries of life, to marry young, and to enjoy more of personal and pecuniary independence than we do: whereas, were we as honest, as free from fictitious 'rights,' and as honestly governed, as they were, our superiority in the arts would make us a hundred fold richer than they, and far more independent.

III. Under our present system, useful Industry is very generally subjected to poverty and

contempt; the Producers of Wealth, self-despised and despising one another, lack the moral wisdom to know and the manliness to defend their natural rights; and, for overproduction, or *doing too much work*, they sometimes suffer a lingering death by starvation.

IV. Our people and our governments are every year sinking deeper and deeper into the mire of Debt; notwithstanding the bankrupt law of 1841 wiped out over \$440,000,000 at a single stroke.*

V. The progress of Pauperism, under our present system of finance, has been far more rapid of late in the new world than in the old. The state of New-York has about twice as many paupers in proportion to population as Scotland, and five times as many as Ireland.† “While in 20 years (from 1831 to 1851) the population of the state increased 61 per cent., pauperism increased 706 per cent. In 1831 there was one pauper relieved to every 123 inhabitants; in 1841, one to every 39; in 1851, one to every 24; in 1856, one to every 17;”‡ in 1858, one to every 13½.†

* The progress of debt in the United States during the last ten years, may be inferred from the statement of the aggregate indebtedness of the banks Jan. 1, 1851, and Jan. 1, 1860, as reported by the Treasury Department, viz.: \$284,122,000 to bill-holders and depositors in '51, against \$460,904,000 in '60. If we suppose the money owed by the banks to be one-tenth of all our money-debts, the grand total in 1860 would be \$4,609,040,000; an increase of \$1,767,820,000 in nine years, or nearly \$200,000,000 per annum. [The yearly increase now (in '62) has grown to billions; debt, consumption and destruction increasing simultaneously.]

† Rep. N. Y. Ass. for imp. cond. of the Poor, 1859.

‡ Governor's Message, 1860.

These facts not only show that our body politic is grievously diseased, but that it is time to give up cheating palliatives, and to apply a thorough remedy.

The writer of this work aims to exhibit such remedy; to set forth the Way to Honesty—the Science of Fair Dealing.

Many will smile at the idea of making the world and its governments honest; but honesty is the normal condition of man.

No child was ever born with a lie in his mouth, however false he might grow to be afterwards; and all the laws of the moral universe, with all their pains and penalties, are on the side of truth.

It is only by debauching the credulous of their faith in honesty, that knaves and tyrants have kept up their seeming power.

Though the short-sighted may mock at honesty, it has always proved itself the greatest power on earth, so far as men have dared to put forth its power and be true to it.

Every seeming triumph over Truth and Right is caused by the abandonment of Truth and Right by their faint-hearted champions; and, in fact, is but a triumph over Cowardice and Indolence—a triumph of greater knaves over lesser ones.

Human honesty has been a prey to knaves, only because it has not been honest enough to make an honest beginning.

No superstructure can long stand if it practically deny its foundation. A true Social Order must be based on Natural Right, and must give the first place to the first rights—the Rights of God.

Now, it is certain that the Creator is the True Owner of all the works of his hands :

That no human combination or 'government' can confiscate God's property, or really impair his Right of Ownership :

That human sub-creators, or productive workers, cannot practically sanction any usurpation of The Creator's right of ownership, without destroying the foundation of all their own proprietary rights, and virtually proclaiming their own works a prey for the spoiler : Consequently,

That all such governmental usurpations must be abandoned, and God's Ownership of *his own handiwork* must be *practically* acknowledged, before Human Workers can expect to see *their* Rights of Property respected, or to escape their present poverty and degradation. Q. E. D.*

It is also certain, that the sin of robbing the Creator to enrich the land-usurer, can be abolished as easily as any petty or derivative wrong ; that all men are as free to respect The Right, and to do right, now, as they can be after the establishment of the Millennium, (though it may now be

* Rights of Property are to be held sacred, not merely from motives of policy, but as a matter of conscience and of religion ; for lying and blasphemy are, at bottom, simple violations of the Right of Property. No man can lie without either imputing properties to persons or to things which are *not* theirs, or else denying them properties which *are* theirs ; and blasphemy is but a lie assigning false acts or attributes to God, or else denying him what is really his. All Righteousness consists in paying due respect, both in speech and in action, to the Rights or Properties of all things. False 'rights' hold the same relation to Righteousness that lies do to Truth.

somewhat less fashionable and more inconvenient)—and that, to establish Millennial Justice in our land, would be to establish Millennial Order, Happiness, and Peace.

If Industry, and Property, and Trade, were put upon their true foundation, and freed from all falsity and injustice, every member of society could be provided with all the necessities and comforts of life, at an average cost of less than three hours' work per able-bodied man per day.

Industry would then be subject to loss from natural causes only, such as storm, drouth, fire, and the like; except in cases where individuals should waste their strength upon works without use, when the loss would be salutary and just.

Trade would then be unattended with any risk or loss to the selling-agent of the producer, and the circulation of wealth in the body politic, would be as orderly as the circulation of the blood in a healthy man.

The world would then have but a single interest—the PRODUCING INTEREST—and all private interests would resolve themselves into component notes of a world-filling harmony.

With the cessation of social and pecuniary antagonisms, universal placidity and health of soul would prevail, and would lead to a co-extensive physical health, or exemption from bodily disease: men's wealth would more and more consist in their virtues; and, as men should familiarize themselves with the virtues of heaven, their souls would be enriched with heavenly joys.

Let no one call these ideas 'visionary,' nor assume that Right and Certainty are less attain-

able in Politics and Finance than in Astronomy. Right surely cannot become less fixed, as we ascend from the physical to the moral plane, and enter the inner temple of God; and Certainty, whether in morals or in mathematics, is merely a necessary consequence of *undeviating* fidelity to Right.

The object of the following work is, to point out, with impartiality and exactness, the main errors of our past legislation and practice; and, to show my countrymen what we may now gain by adopting the policy of *Total Abstinence from Dishonesty*. It contains few waste words, and no insincere ones. It will probably make its way slowly; but it will make its way. I rejoice in its completion, and commend it to all honest men.

THE AUTHOR.

A 'PERSONAL EXPLANATION.'

THOUGHTS become less abstract when we know the thinker. Therefore, I will briefly set forth the main features of my personal history—what have been my opportunities and incitements to study the things treated of in this volume—what kind of witness I am, and what sort of experience I speak from.

My name is NOTSMITH. My father was a country storekeeper, who became impoverished during the financial storms which accompanied the war of 1812, and, when past the middle age, was driven into the wilderness. I had learned to work from sunrise till sundown, as was the custom in those days, before I was twelve years old. After becoming thoroughly versed in the industry and commerce of the back-woods, I was translated to a village printing-office; and I have ever since been a close observer of the world of letters, the world of politics, and the world of trade. I have pursued wisdom diligently, for more than half a century, and now feel myself rich enough to offer the world an intellectual luncheon, if not an intellectual feast. So much I deem it proper to say on a subject which can interest the world but little—myself.

As to the Political Economy or Financial Philosophy of the following essays, I can safely promise the reader that it will not flatter either his dishonesty or his pride; that it corresponds with Col. Thompson's definition, "the science of preventing ourselves from being cheated by our betters;" and that it may prove alike offensive to the greed of the cheater and the vanity or self-love of the cheatee.

My notions on the subject of Government are derived from close personal observations of Natural Government, or the unforced influence of genuine superiority, and also from a long familiarity with the machinery of Artificial Government, or the studied compulsion of arbitrary purse-power and conventional wisdom. The first system prevailed among the Indians whose villages dotted the Genesee valley in my youth. They seemed to have no other rulers than the aristocracy of intellect, experience and courage; no false or arbitrary rights: they had patriotism but no taxation; no jails or gibbets; no substitutes for the individual conscience; no caucus-created chiefs, great, wise and brave through imputed heroism and wisdom;—yet I never saw an uncivil word or gesture used among the Senecas toward one another; never heard of their stealing or taking unjust liberties with each other's goods; and they were generally much more peaceful and orderly than their civilized neighbors. (It was Natural Justice and Natural Government, such as they had seen among the red men, that many of our democratic forefathers wished to have inaugurated when our state and

federal constitutions were framed ; but the lawyers and politicians entrusted with the work did not gratify the wish.) The other or Artificial Principle is powerfully illustrated in the present government of England ; which, according to a recent speech of Mr. Bright, (this was written in the spring of '61) costs its 'subjects' nearly three times as much, exclusive of local rates and taxes, as all the agricultural laborers of England and Wales receive for their labors :* yet, while the people of England pay their government some \$350,000,000 a year for its 'protection,' there are but few of them who have not suffered more wrongs and indignities in a single day, than the untaxed red man received from his own tribe in a life-time. I conclude, therefore, that as health comes from obeying the laws of health, and not from poisoning oneself with physic, social order can never be established by lies, and bribes, and violence ; and that our pains and discords mostly result from our false rights, alias monopolies, and from government placing our people in false relation toward each other—the difference between men in true and men in false social or industrial relationship, being analogous to that which exists chemically between living bodies and dead ones. I conclude that our so-called democratic institutions are not what the democrats of the revolution intended, but the reverse ; that a party government, such as ours has come to be, is the most soulless of all tyrannies ; that

* He estimates their number at 1,000,000 ; their aggregate wages for the year, £25,000,000 ; the yearly expenditure by government, over £70,000,000.

the nightmare of machine-made 'public opinion,' whether in church or state, is a pestilent crusher-out of private truthfulness and manhood—an unnatural domination of impudence over honesty; of cowardly, noisy echoes over the smothered voice of Conscience;—and that the country cannot much longer bear the clandestine rule of its banded Party Managers, who, holding the power of public robbery by an uncertain and expensive tenure, make the utmost of every opportunity while it lasts. I conclude that the financial and moral worlds, no less than the realm of mathematics, are governed by Eternal Laws; that the real welfare of individuals and nations depends on the exactness of their knowledge of and fidelity to the laws of social order; that The Right needs not men's help, but men need its help, which they can only obtain by faithful Obedience or Practice; that all unrighteousness may be overthrown by simply being abandoned, and may be abandoned without uttering a single angry word; and that it is just as easy for the whole world to have wealth as poverty, concord as discord, happiness as misery, if it will but comply with the conditions upon which wealth, and concord, and happiness depend.*

* A strange flight of political impudence is now (1862) becoming common, to which I may devote a page or two in some future edition, viz. :—the assumption that the property of the Producer belongs not to *himself*, but to 'the country,' i. e., to the Party Managers and their tools—and that the spoliation of the True Owners is no great wrong or evil, so long as the robbers do not carry their plunder out of the country, but employ or consume 'the spoils' in the presence of their victims!

There is one personal matter (my Spiritual Experiences) which I will briefly advert to; not from choice, but to explain some peculiarities of my work, which might otherwise be attributed to affectation or to presumption. The subject is one of peculiar delicacy, because the experience of a single life-time can give, even to the most rational sensitive or seer, but an imperfect insight into the spirit-universe—a knowledge analogous to that which a flying-fish might be supposed to attain in regard to super-aqueous things;—while his attempts to convey his glimpse-knowledges to minds that have not had similar experiences, can hardly fail to be misunderstood. At about the age of twenty-eight, I had what may be called a new sense—that of Spirit, or Spirit-Emotions—partially and occasionally opened; which sense has ever since, I think, been slowly gaining. It is not literally *new*, being, like the other senses, only a modification of Feeling. It is not caused by a predominance of ‘Hope’ and ‘Spirituality’ in my brain, for phrenological experts rate each of those organs in me so low as 3, and my Firmness at 7. Neither can it result from physical or mental disease, for I have never been seriously ill. Perhaps it is the same faculty which causes infants, and children who have not lost their innocence, to overflow with sweet emotions without any external cause; a faculty which ceases, or grows dim, as the soul becomes encrusted with pretensions and conventionalisms, or intoxicated with avarice and low ambition. The reader learned in acoustics will remember, that a music-string can communicate its vibrations through the at-

mosphere to other strings strained to the same key, and cause them to emit exactly the same note or sound. Now, this power of receptivity and sympathetic action is not confined to fiddle-strings and glass tumblers, but equally pertains to complex organisms ; though, the more complex the organism, the more numerous and undefinable are the conditions which pertain to it. When a man's aspirations fully accord with those of noble spirits who have cast off their earthly bodies—when he is actuated or moved by angelic motives only—the vibrations of the hearts of such spirits can, more or less perfectly, communicate themselves to and vivify the sympathizing man. Such, at least, is the opinion which I have been led to form by my experiences thus far : all true souls seem formed to enjoy a common happiness, and the light and heat of their loves, like the emanations of a fire, or of the stars, naturally blend themselves together ; while the will, like a lens, can concentrate the spiritual forces within its reach, and direct them subject to spiritual laws.

The result of such a training, and of the searches thereby induced, has been, to almost change the earth into a fairy-land, and render the spirit-world objective. To me, forces are as real as forms ; souls are as real as bodies ; laws and plans are as real as the organisms which they govern ; and The Great Spirit is as real as the sun ;—for, if the few sun-rays which I catch on my retina prove that a sun exists, though I never was within millions of miles of it, then do the innumerable God-rays, all corroborating each other, which shine from all the organisms around

me, far more strongly prove the existence and nearness and kindness of an Infinite God—one whom it would be silliness to doubt, and blasphemy to fear or shrink from.

Yet must I, notwithstanding, admit, that man cannot really know or feel God's existence except *by rendering obedience to his own conscience*, and that argument cannot establish the existence of a spirit-world. If the existence of the universe were a thing left to human argument, it would be easy to show that a system so wondrous could neither be made, nor kept in order for a single day if it were made. It could also be established by argument, that my senses are not to be trusted; that the images which they present to my reason are mere phantoms; that concurrent witnesses are but additional phantoms; and even that the persons who reason against my senses, with all their arguments, are as unreal and worthless as the very senses which they at once address and deny. These considerations shall restrain me from all attempts at spiritual propagandism—all attempts to explain the truths and laws of the heavenly world to the eels who keep themselves embedded in the mud of knavery—though they shall not restrain me from being an honest man, nor make me suppress or deny plain facts through cowardice. . . . But enough of this. To our present burden.

I have written a book—and now comes the more arduous and difficult task of publication. Who, in this world of loud and angry noises will listen to so soft a voice as mine?

Books the most stupid—even the carcass of a dead ass—can float with the current; but, alas! the course of my book is directly in the teeth of every wind and tide.

It does not minister to the prejudices, nor to the class-interest, of any potential class; consequently, there is no class-interest that will aid it.

It does not minister to, but rather arrays itself against, individual selfishness: hence, it cannot expect a welcome from the selfish.

It dares to strike at the ruling lies of the land—even at ‘sacred’ lies—in a world where, according to the Psalmist, “all men are liars.”

It is too serious and rational to amuse the vain, or to secure even the favor of idlers.

Yet I will print the book, notwithstanding, for its words are truth; and truth, though hated by those who sin against it, is always precious.

No matter how obscure or unnoted its author may be, a truly original book—one that utters what the writer really feels and knows, instead of what interest or fashion requires him to pretend to—has an immortal value in the eyes of the truthful.

Hardly one in a million has ever read a page of Newton’s volumes; yet every man has received, he knows not how, some light from Newton’s mind.

“Learning hath gained most by those books by which the printers have lost;” and Religion is far less indebted to its pensioners than to its martyrs.

The words of the True Thinker are light to the bewildered intellect, and meat and drink to the fainting heart.

To repress the truth is to war against it. To conceal one's sure convictions concerning the Natural Rights of Man—Rights which pertain to weakness and infancy as well as to strength—is to become a traitor and a false guardian to the weak and defenceless.

It is a noble thing for a weak man, standing solitary among connivers at wrong, to serve The Truth and The Right out of love.

The faintest voice, if true, can reach the ear and move the soul of God. With God the small are great, the lone are related to all things.

Religion and Political Economy or Righteousness are essentially the same. Neither can be truly understood or practised apart from the other. Religion relates to the proprietary rights of that Wealth-Creator who is infinite; Political Economy, to the proprietary rights of finite producers. The priest who can tamely see the human laborer cheated or robbed, is false to the Infinite Worker also; while the Political Economist who does not assert God's eternal ownership of all the works of his hands, leaves the rights of the human laborer without any foundation or claim to respect.

Ere long, when civil war shall have demolished our whole political system; when pestilence, following up war's bloody foot-prints, shall have humbled even the pride of our humanity-boasting Pharisees; when bankruptcy shall render our governments too weak to maintain established wrongs; when taxation shall make superfluous land a burden, and transform hoarded wealth into poverty; then, if not before, will the work now

offered to the world receive a world-wide welcome. . . . Yet, let me remember that I have no *right* to claim, or to directly seek, the approval of any other voice than my own Conscience.— May I learn to be content with that, and to receive it thankfully ; for Conscience is of God, and its praises grow in sweetness for ever.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since this work was given to the printer, I have discovered that my general conclusions* as to the finale of the present order of things, are corroborated by those of the profound FICHTE, who died in 1814, and of whom it is said, "so robust an intellect, a soul so calm, so lofty, massive and immoveable, has not mingled in philosophical discussion since the time of Luther."

* Though *general* reasonings are necessarily imperfect, they need not be in any way false. General reasonings are deductions made when many of the facts or operating causes are not wholly known, and their scientific value is according to the amount of actual truth which they have to stand upon. My estimate of the labor-cost of gold in Essay IV. is a case of this sort. In the lack of sufficient data, I generalized a conclusion from such data as I had, aiming rather to underrate than to exaggerate the average product of a fair day's work in the richest gold regions, and fixing the amount at 110 grains. This, however, may be much too low. One of the ablest and fairest newspapers in the world, the London Dispatch of April 27, '62, says that the yield to ordinary hand-work, in portions of British Columbia, is £10 a day—adding, on the authority of Mr. Begbie, the local Judge, "they reckon rich claims as often by pounds as ounces now, and it must be a poor claim that is measured by dollars."

I quote the following passages from chap. xii. of his *Destination of Man* :

“ In the interior of states, where men seem to be united in equality under the law, it is for the most part only Force and Fraud which rule in her venerable name ; and this kind of war is so much the more shameful, that it is not openly declared to be such, and the party attacked is not aware of the necessity of defence.

“ Smaller associations [aristocracies] rejoice aloud in the ignorance, the folly, the vice and misery of the greater number of their brethren, and make it professedly their object to retain them in this condition, in order to prolong their subjection. No movement toward its amelioration can be made without raising up a host of selfish interests to war with the mover ; who must be prepared to see the most contradictory opinions leagued together against him in common hostility. The good cause is ever [externally] the weaker, for it can be loved for itself alone : the bad attracts each individual by the promise most seductive to him, whilst the clash of contending interests is hushed in one common opposition to the right. Scarcely, indeed, is such an opposition needed, for error, misunderstanding and distrust divide even the good, and the divisions are widened by the earnestness with which each strives to carry out his own views of what is best ; and thus is dissipated and lost the strength which, even if united, would hardly suffice to hold the scale even. - - - Thus do all good intentions among men appear to be lost in fruitless strivings, whilst, in the mean time, all goes

on as well, or as ill, as it would do without these struggles, by the mere blind mechanism of Nature.

"Thus is it now—but thus it shall not be for ever, or human life would be an idle game, without meaning and without end. Those savage hordes shall not always remain savage. No race can be born with all the capacities of perfect humanity, yet destined never to develop those faculties, or to become more than a sagacious animal might be. . . . It is the destiny of our race to become united into one great body, thoroughly connected in all its parts, and possessed of similar culture. Nature, and even the passions and vices of man, have, from the beginning, tended toward this end. A great part of the way is already passed, and we may surely calculate that it will in time be reached.

"Let us not ask history if man, on the whole, be yet become more purely moral? To a more extended power he has certainly attained, though as yet this power has been too often, perhaps necessarily, misapplied. Neither let us ask whether the intellectual and æsthetic culture of the antique world, concentrated on a few points, may not, in degree, have excelled that of modern days. The answer might be a humiliating one, and it might appear that, in these respects, the human race had rather retrograded than advanced. But let us ask at what period the existing culture has been most widely diffused, and distributed among the greatest number of individuals? and we shall doubtless find that, from the beginning of history to our own day, the brightness of those few points

has been extending in wider and wider circles, and that one individual after another, one nation after another, has been illuminated, and that the light is spreading still.

“ This is the first station-point of humanity on its endless path. Until this has been attained—until the existing culture of every age has been diffused over the earth, and every people fitted for unlimited communication with the rest—must one nation after another, one continent after another, be arrested in its course, and sacrifice to the great whole of which it is a member, its stationary or retrogressive age. When that first point shall have been attained, when thought and discovery shall fly from one end of the earth to the other and become the property of all, then shall our race move onward, with united strength and equal step, to an indescribable perfection of culture.

“ In the interior of those fortuitous rather than rational associations called States—after reaching that period when the resistance excited by new oppression has been lulled to sleep, and the fermentation of contending forces appeased—abuse, by general endurance, assumes a sort of permanent form, and the ruling classes, in the uncontested enjoyment of the privileges they have gained, have only to extend them farther, and to secure the extension also. Urged by this insatiable desire, they will continue their encroachments from generation to generation, and never cry *hold! enough!* till the measure of oppression shall be full, and despair give back to the oppressed, what centuries of injustice had

deprived them of courage to claim. *Then* they will no longer endure any who cannot be content to be on an equality with others. As a protection against reciprocal injustice and new oppression, all will take on themselves the same obligations. Their deliberations—in which every one shall decide for himself, and not for subjects whose sufferings will never reach him, and in whose fate he takes no concern—deliberations in which no one can hope to be the one to commit an injustice, but every one must fear that he may suffer it—deliberations which, unlike the ordinances of a league of lords to their herds of slaves, alone deserve the name of legislation—will lay the foundation of a *true* state, in which each individual, by the care for his own security, will be compelled to pay regard to the security of others. - - - No human creature ever loved evil for the sake of evil, but only the advantages and enjoyments he hoped from it, and which, in the present condition of humanity, do sometimes result from it.

“ From the establishment of a just and upright internal government, and of peace between individuals, will necessarily follow integrity in the external relations of states, and universal peace among them. The establishment of a just internal government, however, and the liberation of the first nation that shall be really free, must be the necessary consequence of *the increasing pressure of the dominant classes upon those beneath them*; and the operation of this cause may be safely left to the passions and the blindness of those classes, notwithstanding all warnings they may receive.

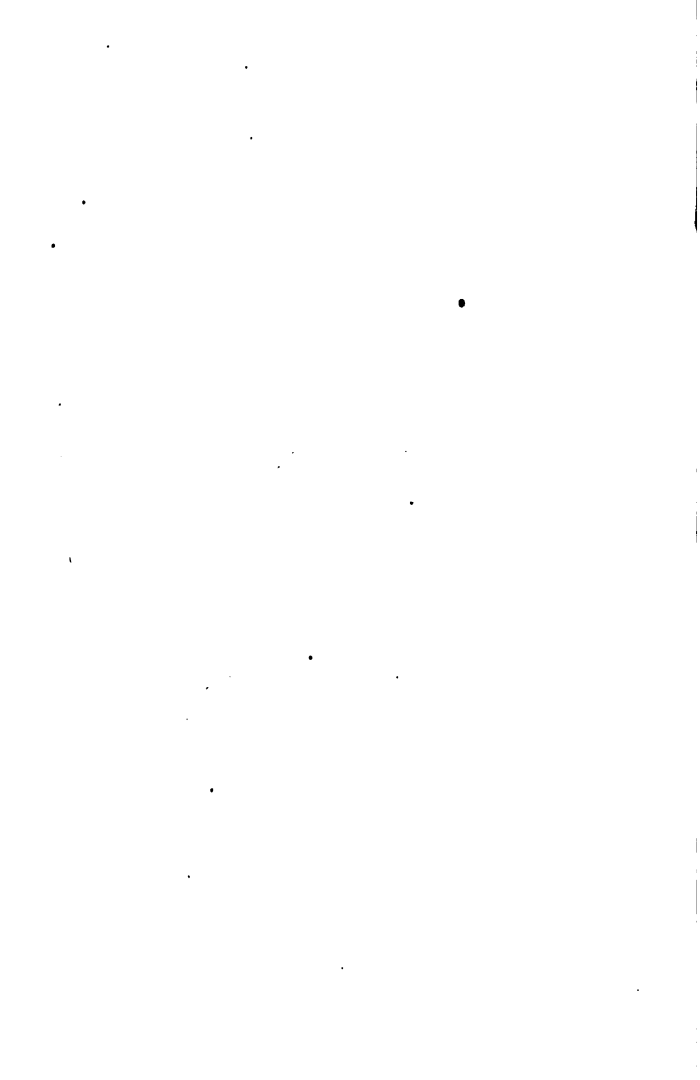
"In such *true* states, all temptation to evil will be taken away, and there will be every possible inducement to every man to direct his will to what is good. - - - In his own country—out of his country—on the whole earth—he shall find no one whom he can injure with impunity. No one will resolve on wickedness which he can never execute, and which can produce nothing but his own damage. The use of liberty for evil purposes is taken away; man must resolve either to renounce his free agency, and become a mere passive machine in the great whole, or to employ it for good. And thus, in soil thus prepared, will good easily prosper. When men shall be no longer divided by a selfish separation of interests, nor their powers be exhausted in a struggle with each other, nothing will remain for them but to turn their united strength against their common antagonist, a resisting, uncultivated nature. No longer distracted by private ends, they will unite for a common object, and form one body, every where animated by the same spirit and the same love. Every loss to the individual is a loss to the whole; every step forward made by one man is a step forward for his race. The strife of good and evil is abolished, for the evil finds no place. The strife of the good between themselves is abolished, for each regards what is good for its own sake, and not because he is the author of it. That the truth should be discovered, that the useful action should be done, is all-important; not at all *by whom* it shall be done. Every one is ready to join his strength to that of others, ready to be-

come subordinate to others ; and whoever is most capable will be supported by all, and his success be rejoiced in by all with an equal joy.

“This, then, is the object of our earthly existence which Reason sets before us, and for the infallible attainment of which she is our warrant. This is not merely the goal toward which we must all strive, that we may exercise our powers on something great which is never to be realized : it shall, it must be realized, as surely as a sensuous world and a race of reasonable beings exist, for whose existence no serious and rational purpose but this is conceivable. - - - It is attainable in life and through life, and Reason herself is the pledge to me for its attainment in commanding me to live.”

PART I.

**PAPER MONEY AND SPECULATION, USURY
AND INCREASE.**



ESSAY FIRST.

THE USE OF PAPER MONEY AS A SUPPORTER OF INTEREST, A STIMULUS TO TRADE, AND A PUBLIC PREPARATIVE FOR A PERFECT CURRENCY.—[Written in 1859.]

† 1. An Analysis of Paper Money, and the secret of its power.

TO consider Paper Money apart from its relations to our whole system of trade and commerce, is like discussing one wheel of a machine apart from its connections, and apart from the work to be accomplished. Paper Money is a legitimate outgrowth of the world's general system of private rights and exchanges; a system whose foundations are coeval with those of our civilization, and which will endure until the world shall enter upon a higher civilization, based upon pure Christianity or the love of RIGHT, instead of Mammonism or the love of GAIN. Paper Money may be termed the latest and most vital outgrowth of that system; the greenest branch of the tree of trade; and whatever symptoms of disease or decay appear in it are mere signs of a more fatal decay in the tree whence it springs.

To speak without metaphor, our existing volume of Paper Money is, in essence, a huge mass of merchants' and manufacturers' notes, generally of large amounts and payable in the near future,

transformed by bank agency into notes of smaller denominations payable on demand; which bank notes are endowed for the moment with all the powers of gold or silver coin, and perform the functions of money so well that they are popularly called money. A large portion of these bank notes, however, (I mean the Deposits) are, to borrow a phrase from the grammarians, not expressed but understood. They exist in the form of entries in the bank's ledger to the credit of obtainers of discounts; but as they possess all the powers and perform all the functions of bank notes, I need not, in an essay designed specially to illustrate the principles of things, embarrass my argument with distinctions that are technical and not substantial.*

Let us now consider how the transformation above referred to is wrought; how wealth is created out of poverty, and Debt, the synonym of slavery, is enabled to sit down at the right hand of Bullion, and enact the part of major-domo in the palace of the great king GOLD. The principle involved is the same as that which enables an army of worn-out prodigals and desperadoes to domineer over ten times their number of able-bodied, able-minded citizens, whether with the

* Paper Money, legitimately issued, is a paper title to coins held in trust by the issuer. So far as it is a means of deluding men with non-existent specie, it adds as little to the world's stock of wealth as paper bread would add to its means of sustenance. Yet every fiction wields the power of truth over man's action so far as it holds the place of truth in his mind. So far as paper keys can unlock the treasure-house of Industry, they are as effective if not as honest as keys of gold.

ballot or the sword. A small amount of power, when concentrated and unitized, is more effective than an unlimited amount in a state of diffusion, and acting, like the pressure of the atmosphere, in all directions at once. The petty electric spark can shiver in an instant trees that the vast electric ocean does not even rustle. The liabilities of a bank, however great they may be in the aggregate, are, taken singly, just as small as it may choose to make them, and so dispersed that, except in time of panic, only a few of them can be pressed for payment at once; while its means are arrayed in solid phalanx, its cash ready for instant action, and its bills receivable forming an army of reserve. The holder of a bank note naturally directs his attention, not to the notes held by other people, and of which he knows little, but to his own; he mentally compares its amount, say \$5 or \$10, with the amount of specie in the bank's vaults, ranging from tens of thousands to millions; and he estimates it accordingly. His neighbors judge it by the same rule; accept it freely in the place of money; pass it from one to another a hundred times; and it only reaches the bank, or becomes a draft upon its means, when some one of its debtors is called on to pay a note that the bank has discounted; and even then it does not deprive the bank of a particle of its specie. Great, therefore, is the strength of Paper Money!

And herein lies its weakness. Its strength is *too* great; it is impossible to abstain from imposing on such magical powers—powers which, like those of lusty youth, seem to come of themselves,

and to have no limit till their limit is ascertained by being transcended. *Then* its whole nature is changed in an instant; and what was a power to buoy up its possessor joyously over all obstacles, becomes a weakness that he must, by means of strength from other sources, contrive to shelter and sustain. Let us therefore see, if possible, what is the nature of this weakness, and what it will eventually lead to; for weakness in the affairs of this world, and especially as a source of revolution, is almost as important as strength.

As before intimated, the Credit System—the tree that has Paper Money for its leaves or lungs—is a necessary outgrowth of our System of Trade; and that, in its turn, rests on the products and the means of Industry. Trade, therefore, cannot be shaken without communicating the shock to Credit: the ship cannot strike on a rock or a sand-bar without imparting the jar to her masts and rigging: and Paper Money has a constant tendency to send the trade of the country high and dry upon a lee-shore, by so enhancing the price of goods as to induce large importations, while home-productions cannot be exported except at a loss.

§ 2. The principle of Increase, its tendencies and its fruits.

Let us then take up the whole of our problem, and begin at the beginning. *What is the moving principle of the world of trade, as it now exists?* I answer, THE LOVE OF GAIN—the love of buying cheap and selling dear—or, as it is termed in the Old Testament, INCREASE. However strongly individuals may *wish* that its ruling motive were

a higher one, it is indisputable that the love of gain has been, though not the only, the strongest or ruling motive in all commercial nations, from the days of Carthage to our own.

To render the above more clear and striking, I will state, by way of contrast, what may be termed the perfect or Christian motive for exchanging goods. With the true Christian, or him who loves his neighbor as himself—who pays to others the full price that he would have others pay to him, and exacts from others no more than he would have others exact from him—the object of trade would be, not to get two hours' work for one, but to get a kind of work or a work-product that another excelled in, by giving him an equal amount of the kind of work that oneself excelled in; each party to the trade conferring one kind of benefit, and receiving another kind in a corresponding degree. With the true practical Christian, mutual convenience or pleasure would be his motive, pecuniary gain his abhorrence.

We will now go back to our problem. Increase being practically the chief end of trade—it being as much the merchant's business to get cheap bargains for his customers as it is a lawyer's to win causes, and his very life depending upon his ability to do so—if this *end* is to be pursued by the whole commercial world, (as it must be until some power shall arise that is able to change its very heart,) why wage war against the *means* by which it is accomplished, and which perfectly harmonize with it? Is not a war against Paper Money a war against all trade on existing principles? and would not victory over the former be

death to the latter? Is it the fault of the banks that a bitter fountain cannot send forth sweet waters? Besides, may not Paper Money, evil as many of its effects admittedly are, be a necessary counterpoise and palliative to some evil still greater than itself?

To the last of these questions I offer a decided affirmative. Nothing can come into existence without a cause; nothing can continue to exist for centuries without good cause. The principle of buying cheap and selling dear contains within itself a most formidable self-contradiction—a positive tendency to paralysis, and even to suicide, for which Paper Money is now the only palliative, and for which no cure is possible. It is a principle which A cannot reduce to practice, except as he procures its violation by B; for A, in dealing with B, cannot take much for little, any farther than B submits to a *decrease* and gets little for much. It is a principle, therefore, which can only be practised by being violated, or honored by being set at naught. It owes its birth to Mammon. It is opposed to Truth, and only has a seeming life while sheltered by the fogs of Falsehood. Dethroning legitimate Trade in its infancy, it has given over the kingdom of this world to SPECULATION, its own true embodiment and first-born; Speculation being a usurper of Trade's office, and a grasper of spoils instead of a dispenser of blessings.*

* For the avoidance of cant and for the sake of clearness, I give the following definitions, viz.

I. TRADE is the distributor of wealth or the products of labor among men according to their respective wants,

The nature of this principle of Increase, and its effects upon the body politic, may be illustra-

and, at the same time, according to their respective rights. It is one kind of work or labor. Its true function is, to make all kinds of work produce the greatest possible amount of happiness. Like every other kind of labor, a man may do it in person or by proxy. A professional proxy is called a Merchant.

II. WEALTH is a general name for the means of life and happiness : consequently, nothing can be *practically* regarded as wealth any farther than it is made to conduce to this end. The fuel that destroys my house, the food that makes me sick, or the wine that impairs my reason, is, in fact if not in theory, anti-wealth or poverty.

III. The VALUE of a thing consists in its adaptedness to human tastes or needs, and therefore fluctuates with them. It mainly depends on the consumer. To some savages, a pound of silver has more value than a pound of gold. To all except the consumer of a thing, its value must be conjectural ; nor can it be fully known even to him until it shall have been consumed. Human wants being individual and fluctuating in their nature, there can be no general or fixed Measure of Value.

IV. The Cost of a thing is the work it takes to get or make it. "Labor," says Adam Smith, "was the first price, the original purchase-money, of all things." The Producer of a thing is the only person who can declare its cost from absolute knowledge, and therefore the proper person to fix its price, or the amount of labor to be demanded for it. Each cost should command an equal cost from him who buys it—no more and no less—for the buyer else would get some portion of another man's labor free of cost, or for naught. No man can be oppressed by this rule, for it does not require him to buy any thing that he does not need, or that will not be of more use to him than the work he gives for it.

V. MONEY is the public Cost-Measure ; each piece *truthfully* representing just so much labor as went to its

ted by hypothetically applying it to the circulation of the blood in an individual, and supposing that his veins are required to return more blood to the heart, in order to stimulate its pulsations, than they receive through the arteries. In such case, what else could the veins do but decompose contiguous tissues as long as possible, in order to get blood to meet the demand? and, this source of supply exhausted, what could they do but decompose themselves, collapse, and become bankrupt? Who, in such a case, would object to an infusion of *paper* blood, if the heart could be induced to take it and beat on?

It may be that, clear as these premises are to my vision, some minds will not admit them, but will contend that Increase can be exacted without subjecting the payer of it to Decrease; that pecuniary trade-profits do not necessarily imply pecuniary trade-losses where the profits come from; and that Bacon erred when he said, *whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost*. To such reasoners my whole argument can have no

production, and no more. It is not only a Cost-Measure and Work-Tally, but a Work-Ticket or Work-Title—a claim upon other men's industry and property—which claim, like the money-sign that denotes it, may be honest or dishonest, true or false. The tokens which we call "money," therefore, no matter what their form or substance, differ little in their chief function from railroad tickets or play-tickets; the main use of the former being to prevent non-contributors to the world's stock of useful works from appropriating such works, just as the latter prevent non-contributors to the construction or the expenses of a given rail-road or theatre from riding in its cars or from entering the theatre.

value; and, if they are right, they can easily demolish it by subjecting me to the *argument ad hominem*, and so demonstrating their point in a way that shall convince all grades of intellect. Let them do so. Let them pay profits to me until they get rich by the operation, and then I will acknowledge my mistake. In order to simplify the matter to my understanding, and to save time, I propose that the profits should be large and expressible in round numbers—say 100 per cent. My instructor might begin by giving me \$2 for \$1—then \$4 for \$2—then \$8 for \$4—and so keep on until my stupidity should be fairly conquered, or until he should become a millionaire. I offer this challenge in good faith. Should no one accept it, such refusal would be a practical admission that my theory is correct, and that one end of a scale-beam cannot go up or down except as the other end sinks or rises.

I hope to be excused for dwelling on this point so strenuously, and for presenting it so variously, because it is so imperfectly understood, not only by the world at large, but by thinkers even; and because its importance and its bearings are so generally overlooked: for in the science of political economy or finance, as in religion, it is not always the greatest truths that command the greatest attention; and therefore the first object of a political writer should be, to promote public sanity by giving to every truth or principle its due weight. And, surely, nothing can be more important to us than a thorough understanding of the debit side of the world's ledger; than a knowledge of the real nature of the nightmare

that broods over our trade and civilization—a nightmare which, in the distant past, reduced mighty empires to anarchy; which brought on the semi-barbarism of the “dark ages;” and which constitutes “the unknown terror” of modern times.

In order, however, to fortify our minds against the depressing tendencies of the dark side of the picture, and against the disturbing influences of anger, we should consider, that both the government and the judgement of the world belong not to us but to God; that our infant conscience, the growth of a few years merely, is barely adequate to the regulation of our individual conduct; and that the Great Author of the universe must have perfect reasons not only for every thing that he does, but every thing that he permits, though those reasons may not yet have come within the scope of our comprehension. “Sweet are the *uses* of adversity,” however bitter may be the thing itself. ’Tis a good manure to stimulate the growth and fragrance of heavenly flowers. We get a knowledge of it at the cost of only a few years’ suffering; while the knowledge, once got, lasts for ever, and serves as an eternal foil or back-ground to heighten every future joy. The vices of our system of trade, with the toils, and sufferings, and fears of suffering, that they have caused, have done what nothing else could have done to force the growth of human industry and intellect; to give birth to useful machinery; to perfect the distribution of labor, and so increase man’s power of producing wealth; to extend the realm of science and subject the elements to our

command; to bring all that is below intellect under the rule of intellect, and so lay the foundations of an empire far nobler than that of intellect, "the kingdom of righteousness." Thus have trade and the vices of trade, within the space of a few thousand years, better fitted the world for a Millennium of Perfect Manhood, than Arcadian innocence and simplicity could have done in hundreds of centuries.

Let us now resume our analysis of Profit or Increase. It must be paid or it cannot be received. All moneys paid for profit, (by "profit" I do not mean a merchant's or salesman's just *wages*—these belong to the *cost* of an article as truly as do the manufacturer's wages) must be taken out of the payer's pocket before they can go into the payee's. It follows, therefore, that in order to have any winners or winnings at this game, there must be a class of *losers* having something to lose. It also follows, that by diligent and persistent losing, the fullest purse must eventually become empty. Then the game must stop until the empty purse is replenished, or until a new loser can be found. But the oftener the game is repeated, the greater the difficulty of finding men to enact the part of loser, at least of their own free will. "The burnt child dreads the fire," and so does every witness of the burnt child's injuries. The winners, however, being stimulated by their love of winning, strive by all sorts of devices to keep up the game. They enter into combinations among themselves, and bring their strength to bear in concert. They often manage to create an artificial scarcity, in

order that they may make a profit out of the necessities that they cause. They practise "speculation" and "forestalling," reduce their practices to system, and make them general. They buy up the chief necessities and comforts of life with their hoarded winnings, at prices graduated not by labor-cost, but by the producer's ignorance or his necessity, and then withhold them from all who cannot or will not pay a greater price, exacting much work for little, or more for less. Thus one class, step by step, gets all the land, all the tools, machines and work-shops, and all the stock or raw material from which wealth can be elaborated; while another class own nothing but the bodies they were born with, and their attendant wants. They do not even own a master; but can only obtain a master's care, that sad prerogative of slavery—can only obtain a master's "leave to toil," by begging it as a boon. The world is now full of this class of *habitual losers*, or "poor;" some of them, men who have attempted to enact the part of winner without understanding the game; others, men so weakened by misconduct and neglect, by indolence and evil habits, that they can only work as they are driven, and think as they are crammed, and who, consequently, spend their lives in creating wealth to be lost to themselves and added to the heaps of the winners. The actual condition of this class may be inferred from Ricardo's definition of WAGES. "The natural price of labor," says he, "is that price which is necessary to enable the laborers, one with another, to subsist and perpetuate their race, without increase or

diminution." (All the wealth created by the laborer above what is required for this end, he awards to the capitalist for "profit" or to the landlord for "rent.") In the above sentence, be it remembered, the merchant-philosopher is speaking not of cattle, but of men—of the great mass of laborers in the civilized world.

That I may not seem to represent the matter worse than it really is, let me say, that, so far as individuals are concerned, I do not pretend that any one must necessarily always win, or always lose; nor do I deny that there are thousands who, every year, pass from the army of the poor to the army of the rich, and *vice versa*. Neither do I assert that these two classes are the *only* classes, or ignore the existence of a middle class in whose members the condition of capitalist and laborer is blended. Still less do I presume to sit in judgment and pass sentence on either rich or poor;—on those who, while doing little work *for* others, take much work *from* others, or those who *give* much work for little. The great principle for which I contend is, that non-producers as a class can become rich only as producers become poor; or, that the pecuniary gains of the former are the pecuniary losses of the latter. Let no one seek to evade this truth by crowding irrelevant propositions into the balance and shuffling this out. Let it be tested honestly. If true, let it be acknowledged; if false, let it be condemned.

As, however, selfishness will not give fair play to a truth that makes against its own side, even though it should be demonstrated by geometry

and confirmed by miracle, I will endeavor to take my problem beyond the sphere of private interest and passion, and into the realm of mathematics. Instead of dealing with antagonistic classes of Men, I will suppose the Money of the world to be endowed with life, ranged in two distinct divisions, and aiming at two opposite results. I will suppose the greater part of it to be, at the start, simple Pocket-Money, scattered among millions of persons, and each coin to be bent on bringing to its holder for the time being any labor-product that he might happen to wish for. I will next suppose, scattered among these innumerable purses of Spending-Money, certain purses whose habits are predatory;—purses well versed in military tactics, their contents never going forth save in battle array, nor without good security for their own safe return, nor without a certainty of bringing in some coins of Pocket-Money as prisoners or impressed recruits. It is plain that, in such case, the division of predatory coins would soon double its numbers; that its strength, once doubled, would go on and double itself again—and again—and again; until, in the course of time, the amount of money engaged in predatory operations would equal the whole amount used in buying goods, or in legitimate trade. This point attained, (the amount of money in existence remaining stationary) the predatory division, by going forth once more, could capture all the money in the world, when trade could only be carried on by barter; for there would no longer be a cent of Pocket-Money remaining—not a cent.

Let us now change the conditions of our problem so that it may present, pretty nearly, the actual progress and condition of the world of trade. Let us suppose that each dollar in the predatory or interest-drawing division should, on an average, take captive and bring home seven cents a year; that four per cent. of the interest-money taken should be used for spending-money by its receivers, and three per cent. should be "compounded" or permanently enlisted in the work of drawing interest. In this case, each predatory purse would double its money in $23\frac{1}{2}$ years, and quadruple it every 47 years. The actual progress of a game of Interest continued for 846 consecutive years according to the above conditions, may be set forth in a tabular form as follows:

A Table showing Interest's Winnings and Industry's Losings on a stake of \$1, in each 47 years, for 846 years; the rate of interest being 7 per cent., and 3-7 of each year's interest being added to the stake annually.

1st term of 47 years.	2d	3d	4th	5th
\$4 (stake included)	\$16	\$64	\$256	\$1024
6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
\$4096	\$16,384	\$65,536	\$262,144	\$1,048,576
11th	12th	13th	14th	15th
\$4,194,304	\$16,777,216	\$67,108,864	\$268,435,456	\$1,073,741,824
16th	17th	18th	19th	20th
\$4,294,967,296	\$17,179,869,184	\$68,719,476,736		

The average yearly addition to the stake during the first term would be less than 7 cents;—

during the last, it would be forty-four ship-loads of silver a year, each ship carrying \$33,326,635, or one thousand and eighty tons.

If we should substitute for the above stake of \$1, a cube of gold measuring 1-8 of an inch on each side, and increasing at the same rate, it would measure half an inch at the end of the first term; 2 inches at the end of the second; 682 feet 8 inches at the end of the tenth; and 8448 miles at the end of the twentieth; when, in order to keep up the game for twenty years more, it would be necessary to get from some other world a lump of gold larger than this. We may safely conclude, therefore, that God never meant the game of Interest should work smoothly in its last stages, or be exempt from "revulsions" for ever.

As some profit-seekers turn their capital many times a year and some not once; as the rate of profit is always varying, now rising above 100 per cent. and now sinking below zero; and as some spend most of their profits and invest but little, while others invest most of their income and spend but little; it is impossible to determine by calculation the actual progress or state of the game of Increase in a given age or nation; but the foregoing calculations do demonstrate with exactness the nature and workings of the principle involved. They show the relative power and progress of Speculation and Industry at different stages or periods of a nation's life; how the creators of wealth, at first the only possessors of wealth, become slowly entangled in the web of the Speculator; how, the longer

they remain, the more inextricable their entanglement becomes; how the dead-weight on Labor's back increases from pennyweights to pounds, from pounds to hundreds, and from hundreds to the crushing-point; how the usurer, from being a detested outlaw, becomes strong enough to hold all men in dependance, and all associations and governments in subserviency; how all things go from bad to worse until Industry faints under its burdens, and Honesty is laughed at, and hypocrites and gamblers and harlots go about in fine raiment, and feast in palaces, and claim authority as well as tribute—until farther progress in degradation and iniquity becomes impossible, farther misery insufferable, and the nations either perish like ancient Rome, or reform as modern Christendom soon must.

Some may contend that, in practice, the wealth of the Speculating Interest does not increase by geometrical progression for any long period, the hoards of the winners being dissipated by the folly and profligacy of their heirs about as rapidly, on the whole, as they were originally got together. But the fact that large estates are frequently subdivided or scattered, does not prove that they pass away from the speculating or non-producing *class*. When a large estate goes to wreck, who, as a general thing, are the successful wreckers? Is it the working farmers and mechanics, the day-laborers and journeymen, the factory-girls and sewing-women?—or is it the smooth-tongued tricksters and sharpers, the speculators and men of prey? The conclusions which I have drawn are as fully confirmed by

our own observation, and by historic records, as they are by the laws of mathematics. No one can deny that the speculating and non-producing classes, or those who live by *profits*, when compared with those who live by *wages* or *useful work*, are four times as rich and numerous as they were half a century ago; while the money expended by non-producers on their appetites and their vices, on menials and palaces, is now probably ten-fold greater in amount than it was then. Nor is the change less striking if we compare the present standing of workers for wages with their standing at the beginning of this century. Then there were few girls of marriageable age who did not understand housework, or who felt it a degradation to work for a neighbor, or to marry her father's "hired man," if there was no marked defect in his physical or spiritual character. Neither were "hired men," as a general thing, at that time very deficient in manliness or self-respect, or in respect for the rights of others.

Such is the testimony of our own experience, particularly in the northern and eastern states. If we take, as a basis to judge from, a long historic period instead of our own life-time—if we take the social condition of our German ancestors eighteen centuries ago, as described by Tacitus, and compare it with our condition now—the change is a thousand times as great: indeed, it is total. Then, there was no trading for profit, no lending on interest, known. Then, hospitality took the place of barter, and when a man chose to part with any of his valuables, he made a gift

instead of a bargain. Then, the wages class was the only class; that is, no man claimed any wealth that he had not won by the labor of his own hands, or received as the free gift of a friend. Their chiefs even—their leaders in war and in council—like the chiefs of our Mohawks and Senecas in the last century—claimed no exemption from the duty of providing their own food and covering by their own toil; they levied no tribute upon their friends, and took but an equal share of the spoils of their enemies. A portion of land for cultivation was allotted to every man, yearly, according to his needs; and as he sowed so did he reap, without becoming the tributary of any mortal. His homage was due, not to usurers and landlords, but to virtue and to God. Each man stood the peer of every other, rich in friends and fellow-clansmen, rich in the love of his family, rich in courage and strength, rich in the lack of artificial needs, of feigned love, and of false distinctions; while, in the wealth that knavish greed extracts from a brother's weakness, it was his happiness to be poor.

† 3. How Usury or Increase affected the world in ancient times, and how it was esteemed by ancient guides and prophets.

This review of our social and political infancy, however, throws but an imperfect light on the social effects of usury or increase; being only a glimpse of the players before the playing began. A glance at the general history of civilized states, or those in which the spirit of gain had supplanted the barbaric virtues, will be more convincing. It will demonstrate the main points

of our proposition beyond all cavil. It will show that the spirit of unjust gain, when it once gets the mastery of a people, rends the natural ties of society, makes corruption and brute force the chief supports of government, and ends in national imbecility and anarchy or political decomposition. Neither the Babylonian empire nor the Persian survived their 210th year; and in 182 years from the conquest of Persia by Alexander, Macedonia became a Roman province. The empire of Rome, being mainly founded on iron, died more slowly; but, after becoming the prey of usury, it underwent corruption also.—Then came a long period, during which the debauched remains of an effete civilization and the hordes of barbarism were brought together, and left to act upon and against each other. It was a great transition period, during which the whole earthly force of Christianity, (a force, however, of immature wisdom and virtue, not yet grown invincible) was arrayed against Mammon. The spirit of pecuniary gain was denounced by the Fathers and by the General Councils of the Church, as at war with the spirit of human brotherhood, and as forbidden by the sacred books. They appealed to the prohibitions of usury and increase (i. e., *interest* and *profit*) in the laws of Moses, in Psalms, in Ezekiel, and Nehemiah.*

* The exact language of the Old Testament (Douay version) on this subject, is as follows :

Moses, about 1480 years before Christ, writes—"If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor, that dwelleth with thee, thou shalt not be hard upon them as an extortioner, nor oppress them with usuries." Ex.

They interpreted the words of Christ, "Lend hoping for nothing thereby," as giving his endorsement to the prohibitions of Increase in the Old Testament. St. Augustine defined Usury

xxii. 25. "If thy brother be impoverished, and weak of hand, and thou receive him as a stranger and sojourner, and he live with thee, take not usury of him, nor more than thou gavest: fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor exact of him any increase of fruits." Lev. xxv. 35—37. "Thou shalt not lend to thy brother money to usury, nor corn, nor any other thing; but to the stranger. To thy brother thou shalt lend that which he wanteth, without usury; that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all thy works in the land which thou shalt go in to possess." Deut. xxiii. 19, 20.

DAVID, writing about 470 years after Moses, exclaims, "Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle? - - - He that hath not put out his money to usury, nor taken bribes against the innocent." Ps. xiv. (xv. of the version of king James.)

SOLOMON says, "He that heapeth together riches by usury and loan, gathereth them for him that will be bountiful to the poor." Prov. xxviii. 8.

Nine centuries later than the time of Moses, JEREMIAH utters this plaint: "Wo is me, my mother. - - I have not lent on usury, neither hath any man lent to me on usury, yet all curse me." Jer. xv. 10.

EZEKIEL writes, about the same time, "If a man - - hath not lent on usury, nor taken any increase, - - - he is just; he shall surely live, saith the Lord God." (xviii.) Among his charges against "the city of blood" is this: "Thou hast taken usury and increase, and hast covetously oppressed thy neighbors." Ez. xxii. 12.

NEHEMIAH, who lived 1060 years after Moses, enforced the law against usury and increase, by requiring its violators to "restore the fields, and the vineyards, and the olive-yards, and the houses; and the hundredth part of

thus : " If you lend your money expecting more than you gave—and, not money alone, but any other thing, whether it be wheat, wine, oil, or any other article—if *you expect to receive more*

the money, and of the corn, wine and oil, which they were wont to exact." (Ch. v.)

TOBIAS prohibits every form of extortion in these words, uttered nearly twenty-five centuries ago : " See thou never do to another what thou wouldst hate to have done to thee by another." Tob. iv. 16.

Now it cannot be pretended that these prohibitions of increase or usury were part of the ceremonial law, and therefore temporary. Usury, no less than theft or murder, has an ineffaceable character of its own ; it is either just or unjust *per se* ; and if it be a righteous act, then is the Old Testament unequivocally at war with one kind of righteousness, and cannot be the word of God.

Waiving all claims of inspiration in behalf of the Biblical prohibitions of usury, they are still entitled to reverence as the utterances of conscience in an unsophisticated age—an age anterior to all great systems of tyranny, and before the public soul had been debauched by centuries of legalized crime, or deadened by habits of passive obedience.

P. S. Our leading modern theologians, I am told by one of their number, assume that these prohibitions were mere dictates of a transient expediency, or desire to prevent " the chosen people" from having commercial intercourse with the unchosen. This, however, is only a *guess* of finite minds concerning the motives of the Infinite ; and if one of the commandments can be repealed by such a process, what is to save the others ? The theory of the ancients, that usury was forbidden because it was wrong, looks more rational. Certainly, if it be a virtue, it is one that Jesus never practised—one that the angels in heaven do not count among their beatitudes—one that the devils can practise to an unlimited extent without doing violence to their worst propensities.

than you gave, you are a usurer, and reprehensible." St. Thomas says, "If a man take pay for a thing, and then for the *use* of such thing, he either sells a nonentity or he sells the same thing twice;"—and, in another place, "As a man is liable to restore any other ill-gotten goods, so he must restore any money made by the practice of usury." He says in regard to the permission in Deuteronomy to take increase of the stranger, "it was not permitted as a lawful thing, but tolerated for avoiding a greater evil. It extends not to Christians, who are bound to consider all mankind as brethren." St. Ambrose, on this point, says—"Take usury from him whose life you may take without sin. The right of waging war implies the right of taking usury." The parable of the Five Talents was regarded, by the leading minds of the church, merely as an illustration of the truth that man's senses and powers are a trust from God, and that he must put them all to good uses or become false to his trust and to his God. In their judgment it was no more designed to sanction usury, than the parable of the Unjust Steward was meant to inculcate the keeping of false accounts and the rendering of false vouchers.

Such were the teachings of the whole Christian hierarchy for fifteen hundred years; nor has the Catholic denomination openly recanted them to this day. Their effect was to keep the spirit of speculation in check, and to establish general or else local FAIRS for Christian traffic in every Christian state. There were few great fortunes during this period except fortunes in land; and

they were mostly won, not by trading for gain, but by the sword. A well-known incident will serve to show the lack of commercial enterprise and the paucity of large capitalists, even so late as the close of the fifteenth century. It required years of effort, on the part of so able a man as Columbus, to raise the means for his exploring expedition; though it consisted of only three petty vessels, (mere boats) and, according to Munoz, cost Queen Isabella less than \$9,000.—We should bear in mind, however, that all the preaching of the saints and priests against usury did not annihilate the sin it condemned. Although, by requiring the usurer to repent and make restitution before he could receive Christian burial, the church prevented most Christians from *lending* at interest, it did not prevent the Jews from doing so, nor keep even Bishops and Abbots from *borrowing* at interest, nor from often paying most ruinous rates. Besides, there was one kind of wealth, more essential than any other to human life and industry, and of which, at the time of the Reformation, the church had become chief monopolist, wherein usury was allowed to be practised by Christians without stint or question. For the landholder there was no check, and to take usury on land was no sin. Yet, as a matter of principle, usury on land is more unjustifiable than usury on money. Money is the work of man's hands; land, of God's. The Bible claims the ownership of the land for God, but not the ownership of money. To allow any man to sell, or to exact money for the use of, land—I mean land *per se*, not the “betterments” it may

have derived from human industry—is to allow him to take wages for God's work, and *practically*, or in the *language of action*, to brand God as an Outlaw, whose work may be confiscated by men at their own will and pleasure. When, therefore, the church gave its sanction to the exaction of ground-rent, its denunciations of those who took rent for money, or wine, or oil, became mere cant in the eyes of the logical thinker. It must be confessed, however, that the rent-claims of the middle ages were very different from the rent-claims of to-day, and were based on very different grounds. Then, the *leude* or landlord was the civil governor—the guardian of the district—the military protector of the tillers of the soil; and the latter, in paying their *rent*, paid for service received. This "rent" was their principal or only government-tax; a tax not so great, perhaps, as the government-taxes we now pay, besides what we pay to our landlords. Even so late as 1685, landlords had *PUTIES* as well as rights; for Macaulay, speaking of that era, says "most of the soil of England was held under the crown by knight service." The unprincipled Charles II. won the favor of the landed aristocracy by absolving them from their ancient obligations to the public, (thereby necessitating an increase in the excise and the customs, taxes specially bearing on labor and on trade) and thus left the claims upon the tenant class for ground-rent without any moral foundation. Notwithstanding this, the landlords' claims have since been quadrupled in amount, while the

taxes imposed by the British government have increased full thirty fold.

Although the above error in generalship and departure from principle on the part of the Christian hierarchy, prevented their warfare against "the vice of usury" from being successful, the blows then given produced very great results upon the social and financial condition of the world notwithstanding; as will appear from an examination of the world's previous state, and also from the change that has taken place since the church relinquished its opposition. At the advent of Christianity, and long before, the wealth of the world had been mostly gathered into huge and corrupting heaps, while the great mass of the people were but slaves and paupers, among whom servility was the common path to power, and insolence took the place of freedom. Rollin, speaking of the greatness of some of the private revenues of ancient times, (history seems fond of big stories, though not of tales without a basis) tells of one Pythias of Bythinia, who feasted the whole army of Xerxes (1,700,000 men) in a splendid manner, and offered Xerxes five months pay and provisions for that prodigious host besides. Rollin also quotes from Varro the statement that a private person named Ptolemy, who, in the time of Pompey, commanded in Syria, maintained 8000 horse at his own expense, and had generally 1000 guests at his table, each of whom he furnished with a gold cup, which was changed at every course. Tacitus, writing of the time of Tiberias, says, "The practice of usury was a grievance that distressed the whole com-

munity - - an early canker of the commonwealth, the frequent cause of tumult and sedition." He thus describes a "pressure in the money market" of ancient Rome: "The usurers lay in wait to buy at a reduced price, and, for that purpose, hoarded up their money. The value of lands sunk in proportion to the number of estates on sale, and the debtor was left without resource. Whole families were ruined; their credit was destroyed, and every prospect vanished." This was in the third year of the Christian era. A few years later, Seneca was charged before the senate with having amassed 300,000,000 sesterces, or \$11,610,000, in less than four years; the charge coming from one who would not be likely to disregard probabilities though he might despise truth. Dio also says that Seneca "placed immense sums at interest in Britain, and, by his vexatious and unrelenting demands for payment, was the cause of insurrection among the Britons." I give the above merely as sample-facts, to show the condition and spirit of the ancient or ante-Christian civilization in its latter stages.

Let us now consider the political and financial effects of Christianity* upon the ancient polity. It would be wrong to regard Christianity, and

* It is difficult to separate the influences of Christ from those of Anti-Christ in a review of this kind; the Scribes and Pharisees having joined the new church so soon as it became their interest to join it, and having changed its whole spirit by their ingenious misinterpretations and doctrinal extremes. Thus, some have carried their charity and non-resistance of evil so far as to give up the whole world to the dominion of wrong; for

its war against the love of money, as answerable for the state of the world during the earlier part of the Christian era. The church was then but an infant, (not wholly *Christ's* infant either) while the civilization of the past might be compared to a rabble of ruined gamblers. From such material no earthly paradise could be constructed very speedily, not even by celestial skill and might. The social and political abuses of the past, with its wisdom, its literature, and its virtues also, were brought into collision with the virtues and the vices, the strengths and the weaknesses, of a mighty barbarism; and it was only as these ground each other into new shapes, that the church became a recognized leader in the world, a public power and weakness among the powers and weaknesses by which it was surrounded. It took centuries for Christianity to partially Christianize a new civilization on a large scale—that of Feudalism and the Crusades—which extended to both church and state, and under which the spiritual power was a unit, while that of the purse was diffused and secondary. That it was a great improvement upon the old order of things, may be inferred from these facts

evil can be put down only by being resisted; and to tolerate a wrong or a lie is to side against the right that it violates. True Christianity, I suppose, inculcates the eternal resistance of wrong *by right means only*; requiring us to combat falsehood with truth, injustice with justice, vice with virtue; and, above all, not to let our neighbor's sins monopolize all our attention while our own absorb all our charity. Viewed in this light, Christianity on earth has thus far been but a struggling influence, not a ruling power.

among others :—It led to the establishment of Market-Towns and Trade-Fairs, throughout all Europe, for the free interchange of wealth among the people : it dotted the public roads with houses of hospitality for the sick and the traveller : it gave the world such specimens of architecture as Amiens Cathedral, which is 208 feet from the floor to the ceiling or roof, and more than one-tenth of a mile long : and, under its influences, there grew up such spirits as Dante and Shakespeare.* How well the Feudal System enabled

* The Feudal System proper (the Celtic clans were rather patriarchal than feudal in their character) had its seat in Germany and France, whence it was brought into England. It may date from the fifth century, and its evening extended at least as far as the fifteenth ; the first standing-army of modern Europe having been instituted by Charles VII. of France about 1460, which I take to be the first great national departure from the feudal principle, though the granting of *arbitrary* instead of feudal titles of nobility was begun by Philip the Hardy in 1271. "A proper feud," says Hallam, "was bestowed without price, without a fixed stipulation, upon a vassal capable of serving personally in the field."—The Feudal System, he says, might have originally been defined, "an alliance of free landholders, arranged in degrees of subordination according to their respective capacities of affording mutual support." It was admirably suited to the condition of the world at the breaking up of the Roman Empire. It practically, though imperfectly, popularized the doctrine of *the reciprocity of rights and duties*—a doctrine alike essential to individual morality and political freedom. It took mankind, after Mammonism had perverted most of them into brazen prostitutes and rightless vagabonds, and gave to every one a fixed social position ; a place that he could call his own, and where his manhood could take root ;—and it thus made it possible for them again to feel, instead of feigning, respect and love for one another.

the hand that sowed to reap, and restrained men of prey from violating the rights of the laborer, cannot be shown with exactness; yet we are not wholly in the dark on this point. Arthur Young, in his old age, assisted by an amanuensis and an accountant, spent the greater part of ten months in ascertaining, from all existing records, the average prices of Food and Labor in England during each century from A. D. 1200 to 1810; the condensed results of which investigation are given, in part, in the following tables. I have added to the first table the average price of wheat for each period of ten years from 1801 to 1850, as deduced from Tooke's History of Prices; and, from the best data I could find, have computed the rate of agricultural wages also. Mr. Young gives the prices of the several periods, not in the coinage of the period, but in the coinage of 1812*

* The following historical facts in relation to the currency of England, are partly gleaned from Fleetwood, and partly from M'Leod and other living authors.

Two hundred years before the Norman conquest, Os-bright ordained that an ounce of standard silver (containing 444 grains of *fine* silver) should be coined into 20 pieces or pence. As the American dollar contains 371½ grains of silver exclusive of alloy, the value of the Saxon penny (22 1-5 grains) would be 6 cents; which value it retained for about 450 years, or till 1301, when Edward I. coined the pound into 243 pennies. England had no other silver coin than the penny till 1351; though it was so indented or crossed in the coining, as to be readily broken into half-pennies and farthings. Edward III. coined the ounce into 26 pence,—Henry VI. into 30,—Edward IV. into 40,—and Henry VIII. into 45.

The Saxon pound (which, like the shilling, was a money of account, not a coin) "contained 60s. sometimes,

—which I have carefully translated into Federal Currency. I have also translated his *quarters* into bushels of 60 pounds. (The laborer's board is furnished by himself, and forms a charge on, not an addition to, his wages.)

Average Price (in the coinage of 1812) of Wheat and of Agricultural Labor in England from 1200 to 1850.

Date.	Wheat per bushel.	Agr. Wages per day.
1200—99	2s. 10d. = 69 cts.	4d. = 8 cts.
1300—99	3 3 = 79	5½ = 10½
1400—99	1 6 = 36½	6¼ = 12½
1500—99	2 11½ = 72	6½ = 13
1600—99	4 9¼ = 1.16	10¼ = 20½
1700—99	4 9¾ = 1.17	15 = 30
1701—66	4 0½ = 97	12 = 24
1767—1800	6 3¾ = 1.52	17 = 34
1801—10	10 5¾ = 2.53	} say, 18d. = 36 cts.
1811—20	10 11¼ = 2.64	
1821—30	7 5½ = 1.80	
1831—40	7 1¼ = 1.71	
1841—50	6 8 = 1.61	
1851—55	7 = 1.69	

but generally 48s." Since William the Conqueror's time, (A. D. 1066) the pound has been divided into 20s.

"The word Shilling never signified but 5d. with the Saxons, and 12d. ever since: when it went for 12d. first, is hard to say." Shillings were first coined about the year 1500.

The prices which prevailed in England in the feudal ages were very low. A hide of land (120 acres) was sold in the tenth century for "C shillings," (500d. or \$30)—and Fleetwood refers to an ancient sale of two hides for

It may be that the average rate of agricultural wages during the present century has been somewhat higher than above stated; but it is certain that they have often ruled below my estimate. Hood, in his *Age and its Architects*, published 1852, speaks of farm-laborers working for 6s., for 8s., and for 10s. a week; which statements are corroborated by the special correspondent of the *London Morning Chronicle*, who traversed the agricultural districts in 1849. Rev. W. Ferguson, in his *Impending Dangers*, gives instances of farm-laborers who paid poor-rates, highway-rates, and 1s. 3d a week for hovel-rent, though getting but 6s. to 9s. a week. No reader should expect perfection in a table of this kind, let the compiler be ever so careful. Neither can any average of the price of wheat for so long a period as a century, represent the state of the grain-market as it appeared day by day to contemporaries. D'Avenant says that "in the reign of Edward III. corn did once rise to thirteen times the common price." The lack of drainage, and imperfect methods of cultivation, caused wheat to be an uncertain crop in England down to a recent period, as is shown by the following facts, gleaned from Tooke's *History of Prices* :

that price; also, to a sale of one acre for 5d. or 30 cents. Ethelred, about the year 1000, rated the value of an ox at 30d., and of a cow at 24d. "In 1095, though more than 300,000 men were marching to the Holy Land, a ram sold at 1d. [6 cents] and an ox at 12d." or 72 cents.

*Average Price of Wheat in England per bushel of 60 pounds in different years, given in the currency of the time.**

1401	1s. 4½d.	1511	10d.	1701	3s. 6¾d.
1404	4d.	1512	2s. 4d.	1710	8s. 3½d.
1416	1s. 7½d.	1601	3s. 4d.	1750	3s. 7d.
1417	9¾d.	1608	5s. 7d.	1767	7s. 11⅛d.
1501	10½d.	1676	3s. 7½d.		
1509	5½d.	1678	5s. 11½d.		

We will now return to the materials furnished by Mr. Young, and give his Equation of the Prices of Different Periods. In framing it, he first reduced the contemporary prices to the standard of the coinage of 1810; the number 20 (for which I have substituted 100, to make the table a statement of relative *per centages*) was chosen to represent the prices of that year; and the prices of preceding periods are represented by the *proportion* which the number opposite to each period bears to 100. The table may be read thus:—The average price of wheat for the fifteenth century being represented by 15, and that of agricultural labor by 27½, wheat from 1400 to 1499 averaged 15 per cent. of the price it bore in 1810, while wages were 27½ per cent. of the wages of the latter period. The comparative

* I have condensed from the same author the following statement of the Average Yield of Wheat in England from 1826 to 1855.

Periods.	Highest year.	Lowest year.	Average per yr.
1826—35	41.6 bushels.	25.6 bushels.	32.2 bushels.
1836—45	51.5 "	31.2 "	40.9 "
1846—55	57.9 "	39.3 "	45.7 "

price of Land in England at different periods, is also given according to the same system, or in hundredths of the price which land commanded from 1768 to 1773.

Comparative Prices of Wheat and Agricultural Wages in England at different periods, given in 100ths of the Price of 1810, according to the Average for each period.

Periods.	Wheat.	Wages.	<i>Comparative Prices of Land at different pe- riods.</i>	
1200—99	27½	17½	1500—99	30
1300—99	31	24	1600—99	50
1400—99	15	27½	1712—37	69
1500—99	30	27½	1768—73	100
1600—99	46	40	1778—89	72½
1700—99	46	50½	1792—99	85
1701—66	39	50	1805—11	87½
1767—89	55	62½		
1790—1803	65	84		
1804—10	100	100		
1767—1800	48	70		

According to the above equation, the two periods, during which a given amount of agricultural labor would buy the greatest amount of wheat, or when the laborer received the largest *per centage* of the fruits of his toil, were the fifteenth century, and *the rosy morning of the Paper-Money System*, or the first half of the eighteenth. The amount of labor, however, that was actually requisite to the production of a bushel of wheat, could not have been the same during the whole six centuries. Every improvement in agricultural machinery, or in modes of tillage,

tends to bring about a reduction in this particular ; and, were labor no more taxed or defrauded in England now than in 1400—99, a farm-laborer's wages would procure him a much greater amount of wheat now than then ; possibly twice as great.

The great rise that took place 1600—99, may be attributed to the American gold importations, which, according to Adam Smith, raised prices 200 per cent. ; and the whole rise was accomplished early in the seventeenth century.

The rise that marks the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, was mainly caused by the extraordinary government loans and bank issues that were called forth by the great war against Democracy in France. After the restoration of the Bourbons and the resumption of specie payments by the Bank of England, a great reduction of prices ensued ; which reduction, a few years later, was powerfully seconded and strengthened by the prohibition of bank notes under £5.

The nominal rate of wages is not an infallible exponent of the condition of the working classes ; for wages may be nominally high for a long period, as is now the case in this country, while, from the faintness of the demand for workmen, thousands are half the time without any wages whatever.

The fact that the working classes of to-day, (the farm-laborers at least) *do not receive so large a per centage of the fruits of their toil in the shape of wages, as did the same classes four or five centuries ago*, is fully conceded by Hallam

in his *Middle Ages*, p. 500. He says, "there is one very unpleasing remark which every one who attends to the subject of prices will be induced to make, that the laboring classes, especially those engaged in agriculture, were better provided with the means of subsistence in the reign of Edward III. (1327-77) or of Henry VI. (1423-61) than at present (say 1817.) 'In the 14th century,' Sir John Cullum observes, 'a harvestman had 4d. a day, which enabled him in a week to buy a comb of wheat; but to buy a comb of wheat now, (1784) a man must work 10 or 12 days.' So, under Henry VI., if meat was a farthing and a half the pound, which I suppose was about the truth, a laborer earning 3d. a day, or 18d. in the week, could buy a bushel of wheat at 9d. and 24 pounds of meat for his family. A laborer at present, earning 12s. a week, can only buy half a bushel of wheat at 10s. and 12 pounds of meat at 7d." - - "I find it difficult to resist the conclusion, that however the laborer has derived benefit from the cheapness of manufactured commodities, and from many inventions of common utility, he is much inferior in *ability to support a family* to his ancestors three or four centuries ago."

§ 4. The merits of the Feudal System enumerated.—Illustrations of the growth of Usury since that system began to decay.

To go back to our argument. The best test of the merits of the new civilization, could it be had and put in form, would be a faithful exposition of the moral influence of its leaders, the Feudal Aristocracy, while the system was in full

vigor, and before it had degenerated into or become secondary to our modern Aristocracy of Falsehood. It was emphatically an Aristocracy of Force—the only aristocracy which, in that age, could command the world's obedience. Bravery was its highest virtue. It shrunk from and discountenanced insincerity because it was a mark of cowardice and weakness, rather than from a genuine love of truth. The past had left it a huge legacy of anarchy, servility and vice to deal with; and it could not afford to trifle, or to indulge very largely in the gentler virtues. Yet, in some respects, it was superior to any aristocracy that exists in the world now. It was something more than a band of privileged extortioners and licensed drones. If it claimed the rights of pre-eminence, it acknowledged the duties of pre-eminence, often if not always. The feudal lord of a district was its watchman, the ready defender of the men who tilled its soil. Those who dwelt under him could claim his guidance, protection and hospitality, as freely as he could claim their aid in battle, or the rent-charge that fell due in default of military service. There was much more of fellowship, of mutual loyalty and good will, between the feudal lord and his vassals, than exists between landlord and tenant, or forestaller and consumer, at the present day. Certainly, their exactions for *rent* were very moderate, in comparison with the rents now charged in England, and even in the United States. The kind of dwelling that the poorer class of country people could afford to live in, five hundred years ago, is thus described by Chaucer, who died in

1400. (I have modernized the spelling, and some of the words, guided by Tyrwhitt's Notes and Glossary.)

A poor widow, somewhat advanced in age,
Was whilom dwelling in a narrow cottage
Beside a grove, standing in a dale.
This widow, which I tell you of in my tale,
Since the day that she was last a wife,
In patience led a full simple life.
Little was her cattle, *and her rent*.
By husbandry of such as God her sent,
She found herself, and eke her daughters two.
Three large sows had she, and no mo ;
Three cows, and eke a sheep named Mally.
Full sooty was her house, and eke her hall,
In which she ate many a slender meal.
Of poignant sauce she knew not a deal :
No dainty morsel passed through her throat :
Her diet was according to her cot.
Repletion never made her sick :
Temperate diet was all her physic.
No apoplexy ruined her head :
No wine drank she, neither white nor red :
Her board was served mostly with white and black,
Milk and brown bread, of which there was no lack :
Singed bacon, and sometimes an egg or two ;
For she was, as it were, *a sort of day-laborer*.
A yard she had, enclosed all about
With sticks, and a dry ditch without,
In which she had a cock - - and seven hens.

So late as the time of Queen Elizabeth, houses were let at exceedingly low rates ; for, among the petty entries in the Diary of Dr. Dee, in 1597, is one of his having granted a lease of "two houses in Dene square for 7s. rent both." Less than two centuries ago, according to "An Apology for Builders," (Lond. 1689) houses let

in Bishopsgate-street, the Minories, &c. for £15 or £16 a year, and in the Strand and Charing-cross for not above £20.* The indications of the facts just quoted, accord with the general tenor of the statistics of the era to which they belong. To show how much lighter were the exactions of the kings and nobles of the feudal ages, than the burdens imposed on modern industry by their successors, I copy the following particulars from D'Avenant, McCulloch, Macaulay, and others. William the Conqueror, who was the most grasping and merciless of feudal kings, levied few or no taxes on trade and manufactures, (obtaining his governmental supplies from rents, free gifts and fines) yet his whole land-tax, or rental for the crown lands, was considerably less than £400,000 a year, being but £1061 a day. In 1206, the entire customs revenue of England, including that derived from tolls and fairs, was £4958 7s. 3½d.; nor did it exceed £50,000 in 1590;—while, in 1852, it was £22,137,120; being 442 times as great under Victoria as it was under Elizabeth. Bacon, speaking of the execution of Sir W. Stanley in 1494, calls him the richest subject in the kingdom, being “worth

* I know an old lady who, more than 70 years ago, was born in a wooden house, where the Park Theatre stood afterwards; for which her father paid but £9 currency, or \$22 50, per annum, though the lot ran through from Park-row to Ann-street. The present rent-charge for a bare room and bed-room in a rear building up town, ranges from \$60 to \$80 a year. The actual labor-cost of a house to the builder, is probably less now than it was seventy years ago, when every nail was made by hand.

£3000 old rent." The whole annual revenue of Charles II., who died in 1685, was £1,400,000; that of Victoria is forty times as burdensome. The Duke of Ormond, the richest noble of the time of Charles II., had an annual income of £22,000; the Duke of Buckingham, before he had impaired his estate by his extravagance, £19,600; and the average income of a temporal peer in that age was estimated at about £3,000. Then, also, England contained not less than 160,000 small freeholders, whose average income was estimated at between £60 and £70. "It was computed that the number of persons who occupied their own land, was greater than the number of those who farmed the land of others." This class of small freeholders has since been almost totally extinguished, while the wages or "rents" of the landlords have gone on increasing, till they bear a most ludicrous disproportion to the wages of the tillers of the ground. The gain in agricultural wages in four centuries, according to Mr. Young's equation, i. e. from the 14th century to the 18th, stands as $62\frac{1}{2}$ to 24, or less than 3 to 1; while the annual value of land in England is said to have doubled every 75 years ever since the Reformation = 1500 per cent. increase within only three centuries. In 1544, says Hume, an acre of good land let for 1s. In the time of James I., land sold for 36s. to 42s. an acre, and let for 3s. The total rental of England and Wales in 1680, (houses and mines included) was £14,000,000. In 1771 it was, for land only, £16,000,000; and, in 1852, £41,118,000. Whether the increase in the amount of good,

or of work, done by England's conventional nobles of to-day, bears a just proportion to the increase of their wages—for some of them are now getting over £1000 a day—is a point which I leave them to consider.*

I must acknowledge that the foregoing collections and condensations of facts, which I have gleaned from the social and political history of past ages and introduced into my argument, interfere with its consecutiveness, and may divert the attention of some readers from the very proposition which they confirm, viz. *that the pressure of Usury or Increase upon the neck of Industry becomes heavier and heavier, the longer it is borne, in spite of all improvements in the arts, and in spite of the accumulation of riches*: yet I may assert in excuse, that specific facts are requisite to illustrate and confirm the plainest principles. Though the various *powers* which move society and control its destiny must always fully *exist*, we cannot estimate their value, or even know what they are, except by studying the *phenomena* to which they give birth. We know of the *force* of gravitation, for instance, only through the *motions* which it communicates to visible objects; for we cannot see itself: and so

* There are 46 persons in England, (says the Home Journal of Oct. 8, 1859) who have each an income exceeding \$2,000,000 a year, and 444 persons who have incomes varying from \$50,000 to \$250,000. The London Despatch of Oct. 6, 1861, says that the Marquis of Dalhousie has 80,000 acres under the plough, and estimates that the income of the Marquis of Westminster will, at no distant day, be £1,000,000 a year.

in regard to all other principles, whether in the realm of physics, or politics, or morals. Nor is it wise to base a principle on a single fact, or on the facts of a single age and locality. Every phenomenon is the product of, or is modified by, different forces in different or uncertain degrees of combination and antagonism: *E. g.*, a floating feather may be simultaneously acted on by gravitation, by inertia, by heat, by the wind, and by the breath of the observer: before its movements can prove the general course of the wind, they must be compared with and confirmed by the motions of the clouds, and of other floating objects, throughout the whole range of vision. In like manner, if we would form a true idea of the principle of Usury or Increase under its various *aliases* and disguises, with its effects upon the wealth and morals, the dignity and happiness, of men and states, we must take a fair view of its workings so far as the light of history extends, and so far as the eye of reason can penetrate.

¶ 5. Usury, when generally practised and submitted to, necessitates an Adulteration of the Currency, or Repudiation in some shape.

Of the general principles deducible from the facts already given, taken in connection with the history of all civilized states, one of the least considered but most important is this: *That in proportion as the practice of Usury or Increase prevails in any age or nation, an expansion or adulteration of the currency, or some form of practical "repudiation," becomes necessary as a preventive of revolution, sedition, or anarchy.* While, in the language of Solon, "equality or

fair play breeds no discords," forced inequality, or the arbitrary division of God's equal tenants into *rich* and *poor*, or tributaries and exacters of tribute, is contrary to nature, and can neither be got up nor kept up except by violence. In the tribes and nations where no such division existed, (as among our aborigines and the ancient Spartans) individual strifes were of rare occurrence, and social or class antagonisms were unknown. So long as the citizens of Sparta obeyed the laws of Lycurgus, a longer period than that which has elapsed since the discovery of America by Columbus, they had no seditions or civil wars, no tyrants or usurpers; and, during the centuries when usury was under the ban of the church throughout Christendom, all the European revolutions that took place were on a small scale, and more personal in their bearings than political or social. It may be doubted whether, in those states where Increase was prevalent, any statesman ever gained a lasting popularity who did not, directly or indirectly, lessen or aim to lessen the great gulf by which rich and poor are divided. "The first of Solon's public acts was, that debts should be forgiven, and that no man, for the future, should take the body of his debtor for security." (*Plutarch.*) He valued himself in his poems on having liberated the mortgaged fields and the mortgaged citizens of Athens.—Great Cæsar took a step in the same direction, by enacting what Tacitus calls "a wise and salutary law," authorizing debtors to deduct from the principal whatever they had paid for interest; a law, however, which his successors allow-

ed the creditor class to disregard, until all the bonds of human fellowship were torn asunder, and Rome became a prey to barbarians. But the most common method of evading the burden of usury has been, in all ages, to adulterate or falsify the currency. This method was understood long before the Christian era ; for some of the ancients say that Solon ordered the minæ of 73 drachmas to pass for 100, whereby debtors were relieved to the extent of 28 per cent., while creditors got, *nominally*, their whole dues. It was certainly a very common mode of enriching themselves, and of relieving debtors, among the princes of Christendom, down to the time when Paper Money was introduced. Hallam tells us that in France, at the revolution, the current coin had thus been depreciated to $\frac{1}{73}$ of its nominal value ; that is, the 73d of a livre was *called* a livre, and the law upheld the lie. A thousand similar facts might be given ;—all which go to prove, that even in those ages when usury was least prevalent, and when the whole power of the church and of public opinion was arrayed against it, it caused such an abnormal demand for money, as to render artificial “expansions of the currency” widely necessary.

¶ 6. The effects of the debased currency which Usury necessitates upon Industry, Wages and Trade.

This last point I will pause a moment to emphasize and reiterate, for it is not sufficiently appreciated or understood. Speculation is antagonistic to Trade. The more money Speculation absorbs, the less is there for the employment

of useful Industry and for the wants of virtuous Commerce; for, the coins that are used by the forestaller to play the game of Increase cannot, any more than money staked at loo, do the work of spending-money in stimulating productive labor at the same time. To present this truth in the strongest light possible, I will suppose, (an extreme case) that *all* the money of a country is devoted to Forestalling and Usury:* does it not follow, that every legitimate cash-business would at once be struck with death? that all workmen must cease to work or give the employer credit? that trade must either cease or assume the form of barter? and that Usury itself, having no more worlds to conquer, would be as impracticable as highway robbery on a road that men no longer travel? Certainly, a "relief measure" of some sort, a New Currency of some sort, would then be indispensable; and what currency could be better—what other currency would be possible—than one based on the work men *hoped* to do;

* It may better illustrate the impossibility of making a nation-embracing game of Usury perpetual, to suppose the article put out for increase to be Land instead of Money. We will therefore substitute *acres* for *dollars*, and suppose that each one who borrows 100 acres of land to work, or to pasture, must return 107 acres at the end of the year, or 205 acres at the end of 15 years. While the land-borrowers were few and able to buy land with their farm-products at easy rates, the game might go on smoothly; but when one-half the land of a township, or of a continent, should be thus put at interest, it is certain that the land-lenders would absorb every acre of the remaining half in less than 15 years, when a Great Crisis would be inevitable.

on the wealth they *hoped* to create or receive; on their *expectations*;—in short, a currency of Paper, or Circulating Debt? True, the class of usurers, or winners, (one man in a thousand) would have gold and silver in plenty; but the specie locked up in their vaults would give no life to trade. They would have few inducements to exchange their wealth with one another; and, as to the starving producers of wealth—the men without lands, without workshops, and without employers—they would have to beg, or rob, or die.

There may be attempts to destroy the force of this illustration by saying, that no such extreme case could ever occur; but, if the supposed case be true to the principle involved, it must truly indicate the results of acting on such principle so far as men may actually follow it, be the same more or less. The objector might with as much reason deny the proposition, *that two parallel lines infinitely extended will never meet*, on the ground that no man ever did or can draw an infinite line. I contend, therefore, that the principle just set forth is as valid as any of the propositions of Euclid. Indeed, it is a law of the universe, that no general evil or wrong shall be stationary; that one step on a wrong course shall make another necessary, until, by suffering; we come to understand the wrong involved well enough to make us abandon it, and do fealty to **THE RIGHT**. Accordingly, when the multitude surrender their equality—when they throw off their allegiance to God and Truth, and tamely sanction the false claims of the wicked—they

necessarily make themselves the slaves of the wicked, the bearers of impositions that cannot but increase so long as they are borne. The whole progress of usury proves this. First, the sellers of labor and labor-products become more numerous than the buyers: to tempt buyers, the more necessitous offer their work and their goods for less than an equivalent, and so incite others to speculate on their distresses: soon a *speculating class* becomes established, to whom all producers of goods look for a market, and all consumers and retailers for a supply: speculation increases the poverty it feeds upon; and in increase of poverty is increase of debt: to stimulate purchases, the speculators and even the shopkeepers sell goods for *debts* instead of *money*, until in time debts are specially manufactured and printed to circulate as money—a function which, by the way, until the debt-coiners actually sink into bankruptcy, they perform better than coin; because coin would be hoarded, while the Debt-Money often circulates with an unnatural rapidity, through the holder's fear that it may die on his hands.*

That a paper or depreciated currency, at least

* In doing full justice to the chance merits and transient advantages of Paper-Money, I would not be considered as advocating the preservation of our modern Debt System, even were its permanent continuance possible, which it is not. Debt is the great demoralizer of society, the Satan of the business world. "Lying rides on Debt's back," and both horse and rider have bankruptcy and death for their goal. It is not good for men to reap their harvest before God has ripened it, nor to reap with a pawnbroker's sickle.

in its early stages, operates more strongly as a stimulus to the industry of the poor than would a corresponding addition of true coins to a gold currency, is a point which writers on currency have failed to notice; yet the world's experience has fully demonstrated its truth. In what age have men's minds and muscles been so overtasked, or made to produce so many inventions and so great an aggregate of machinery, ships, railroads, manufactories, palaces, and labor-products of all sorts, as within the last hundred years?—an age which will be known to posterity as THE PAPER AGE. Certainly, nothing equal to it resulted from the influx of gold into Europe in the 16th century, great as that influx and the activities excited by it undoubtedly were. In 1492, the world's estimated stock of specie was \$60,000,000 in gold and \$140,000,000 in silver; an amount which lacks more than \$30,000,000 of equalling the amount of gold coined by the United States in the four years extending from 1853 to 1856. Mr. Jacobs puts down the amount of gold and silver in Europe, in 1492, at only £33,342,000, and the amount added thereto in 108 years at £143,658,000; yet this quadrupling of the old world's stock of bullion was attended with no corresponding increase of prices, unless it might be in *the price of land*.* Adam Smith says—“The discovery of the mines of America does

* No. 76 of Addison's “Guardian” demonstrates to the landed interest of England, that when Trade adds £20,000,000 to the amount of cash in the country, it thereby adds four years' value, or £48,000,000, to the money-price of their lands.

not seem to have had any very sensible effect upon the prices of things in England till after 1570; though even then the mines of Potosi had been discovered more than twenty years before." From 1570 to 1640 there was a great rise in prices, though not so great by one-third as the increase of bullion; the rise of prices in that period, according to Tooke, being 200 per cent., while the increase of bullion was 600 per cent. That an addition of 600 (or even 200) per cent. to the amount of *paper* money, would add more than 200 per cent. to prices, particularly those of choice real estate, and other commodities that would keep, is quite certain. The truth is, that owners of bullion do not like to part with it for uncertainties; they "lack enterprise;" while, in regard to paper money, the greatest risk is in keeping it: Therefore, its holders are ready to spend it for things that are superfluous, and to hazard it in schemes that are desperate; while, to the laboring poor, even the paper effigy of money is better than nothing, and they give their strength for promises rather than to lose it wholly through lack of work. Thus does Gold naturally gravitate toward the vaults of the rich; rag-born Paper, toward the hands of the poor.

Some, perhaps, may think that the above notions have been practically refuted by the great quickening of trade and industry which followed in the wake of our modern gold discoveries. But I hold a different opinion. I will not deny, or seek to belittle, the importance of California and its gold. It is a state whose laboring classes can boast a cash income of \$1,000,000 a week, de-

rived, not from the vaults of the usurers at a nett loss of \$70,000 for tribute, but taken from the ground they stand on, never returnable, and wholly their own. It is theirs in fee simple; and they can annually sell \$50,000,000 of gold in fee simple to the wealth-producers of other states, without having to buy it back afterwards for more wealth than they sold it for. California (with Australia) is the chief of the world's cash-customers; and she gave a powerful impetus to the world's trade and industry, across seas and continents, every where transforming inertia into motion. Yet it is doubtful if the producing classes of the world, as a whole, are any better off for all this, now. To them, new gold is but a temporary stimulus; enabling them to pay their old debts more easily, but making the cash capital requisite for the same amount of business, with its concomitant tax for interest, *permanently* larger than before. To the usurer, on the contrary, this gold is permanent nutriment. It stays with him; it strengthens him; it "sticks to his ribs;" it not only gives him a bigger stake to put down, but greater necessities to speculate upon, and bigger winnings at every turn of the game. According to Tooke, the new supplies of gold from 1848 to 1856 inclusive, were £174,000,000 = \$850,000,000: there is so much more of gold for Poverty to pay interest upon; yet the *rate* of interest, he says, "has materially risen since 1853 in every part of the commercial world, and so far (1856) shows no signs of a decline." He says that wages in England, from 1851 to 1856, increased 15 to 20 per cent. over previous

rates; but that the rise in the rate of interest has been greater than the rise of prices. I am confident that this rise of wages was caused, not so much by the new supplies of gold, as by the increase of *paper* money; but, be this as it may, the rise has not been maintained. *Demand for work is the only permanent supporter of wages.* The N. Y. Courier of March 16, '59, quotes the wages paid at the Dundee Bleacheries, per latest advices, as follows: Men, 2s. 6d.; Women, 1s.; Boys of 15 to 18, 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d.; Boys of 9 to 15, 9d. No doubt many branches of industry command higher rates than the above; yet the cotton factories of England could not keep up so large a force as they do, (400,000 hands at the lowest) unless their rates were very near the average. It may be farther said in regard to wages, that a falling off in the *demand for a trade's work*, is a virtual reduction of wages, so far as the whole trade is concerned, though one-half of its followers should not be reached. *E. g.*, if the working classes of a country averaged 300 days' work yearly, at \$1 a day, up to the revulsion of 1857, and if they have not since averaged but 200, the aggregate wages of such country's laborers would be one third less than before, though the per diem for such as could get work should remain the same.

Taking all the facts into view, therefore, I consider it proved, that the gold of California and Australia has strengthened Capital rather than Labor, Interest rather than Wages; that the rise in wages which followed upon the gold-discoveries in those regions, was caused not so

much by the gold itself, as by the great increase of bank paper which the gold led to, and the increase of government paper caused by the Anti-Russian war; and that, in the present advanced stage of the game of Usury, (which has been growing more and more interesting, and making heavier and heavier drafts on the currency, ever since it was legalized by Henry VIII.) *it is impossible to keep business and wages up to the present standard even, without a constant increase in the volume of Paper Money.*

¶ 7. The final effects of the Paper Stimulus exactly opposite to its first effects.—The eventual downfall of Paper Money certain.

Yet I am forced to acknowledge, that in escaping this horn of our financial dilemma, we are thrown upon another horn which is equally fatal. Porson, it may be, had the difficulties of the case in view, when he compared England's commercial prosperity to a pig cutting its own throat by swimming, and so bleeding itself to death while making its escape from drowning. It is the nature of things false or wrong to be self-contradictory and self-destructive, while the things of truth harmonize with all truth, and endure for ever. The great evil which Paper Money inflicts upon the people who tolerate it is, *the destruction of their Selling-Power*, or, the disabling them from coming into the world's market as sellers of goods. Neither man, nor class, nor nation, can long go on paying interest, unless he or they produce more than they consume, and sell more than they buy—the real *payer* of interest being, always, *the man whose work or wages the*

burden finally falls upon, just as the real supporter of the top-layer of a house is its foundation, and not the intervening bricks. Now, the more paper dollars there are in circulation in a country, the less the amount of work or goods that a 'dollar' will command there—the greater the money-cost of manufacturing there—and the harder it is to get cost for such country's labor-products in open market;—for, in the world's market, the nation that can manufacture cheapest and keep the cheapest stand, takes the customers, while high-price nations must either go without or sell at a loss.

Nor does the mischief stop at this. The same causes that make a paper-money country a dear one to manufacture in, make it a high-price market for foreigners to sell in; so that the natives whose products are not *peculiar to the country*, are not only shut out of foreign markets, but liable to be undersold in their own, except when specie shipments and bank suspensions bring on a violent "contraction of the currency," with forced sales, and a temporary export trade born of the general bankruptcy.* Such has been the

* The effects of Paper Money upon Home Industry, are far more injurious than those of an "expansion" produced by the ancient devices of clipping the coin and making it of base metal; because Paper Money gives great practical advantages to foreign producers which cannot be exercised by residents. The money-cost of goods, being regulated by the currency of the place of production, will always be lowest in the country whose currency is least diluted; while the money-price is always highest in the country whose currency is most diluted: consequently, Paper Money not only offers a

experience of this country ever since England, by means of the war of 1812, sunk us deeper in the paper-money frying-pan than herself—(her prohibition of bank notes under £5 in 1829 was

bounty on shipments from low-price countries, but makes it the foreigner's interest to take home his pay in artificially depreciated gold and silver, instead of artificially inflated labor-products, and enables him to carry off much more than he could if the coin had been clipped instead of *papered*. To illustrate this point:—In 1551, Edward VI. in his weakness reduced the pound to about seven hundredths of the old Saxon pound, or 4s. 7 3-4d. of the present pound, or 375 grains fine silver: of course, *nominal* prices would be more than four times as high as they would be if the coin had contained as much silver as the present coin, and the present coin had not been depreciated by paper; yet the foreign seller in the English market could not then carry home four times as much silver for his wares, nor could he obtain one grain more of silver for them than the English producer would for the same nominal value. But if the whole depreciation had been caused by bank notes instead of light weights and base metal—if the ancient pound had been magnified into £14 1s. by an infusion of paper merely—then the foreign receiver of £1000 could go to the bank, convert his paper into silver, and carry home 1000 pounds of 5828 grains each instead of 375 grains each, or nearly 930 Saxon pounds of silver more than the English producer, (necessitated to sell his silver at the price of paper, and to spend all that he received in the English market) would *practically* receive and enjoy for the same amount of work!

The contradictory effect of “expansions,” or adulterations of the currency, upon the Debtor Interest and the Producing Interest, may be explained thus: Every money-debt is, in essence, a *sale of coin or bullion on time*; consequently, every practical diminution of the quantity of bullion in the current “pound” or in the “dollar,”

another move in the same direction, though not aimed exclusively at us)—and we have been jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire, and out of the fire back to the frying-pan, each trans-

whether caused by injections of base metal or of paper into the circulating medium, is a diminution of the amount of bullion required from makers of time-sales by *the letter* of their contracts. It is a practical reduction of all money-debts. On the other hand, every man who gives his work or its products for money, is, to the extent that he does so, a *Buyer of coin or bullion*; and, the greater the adulteration or 'expansion' of the money that he gives his work for, the more true metal is he cheated out of. And though he may try to protect himself against the fraud by raising his prices accordingly, he cannot possibly keep up with his adversaries in the race; for it requires a combination of his whole trade, which may comprise millions of persons, to effect even a transient rise in wages, while each *currency-expander* can put forth his sham bullion almost *ad libitum*, and if he should break in consequence of his excesses, the loss would fall on his creditors rather than on himself. Besides, after the Producing Interest may have effected the rise desired, it finds that it has virtually bid a premium on the importation of the goods of its foreign competitors, till the resident producer is crowded out of his own market, as was shown before.

A careful consideration of these things will convince us, that, so long as labor shall be burdened with usury and increase, *whichever civilized state can keep the lowest rate of private and public taxation, (of which Usance is the chief item) must be the world's commercial centre, and take the lead in the Republic of Industry and Trade.* The money that is attracted to a place by its works has a tendency to remain and attract more; while that which is bribed into a country by high rates of interest, adds no more to its permanent wealth, than a destroying army on a march would add to its population. It is for a limited time only that, even by the youthful and vigorous,

ition aggravating our difficulties, from that day to this. But the subject is too mortifying to dwell on. The evil is one which, like the tooth-ache, will need no foreign aid to make us re-

high rates of increase and taxation can be borne. They have the same tendency to obstruct trade and industry, always and every where, that high tolls and frequent robberies on a public road have to lessen its travel.

I will here add a few facts concerning the state of our currency, and of our export trade, in "the golden days of our commercial prosperity." The framers of the Federal Constitution, smarting under the evils caused by the Paper Money of the revolution, prohibited the emission of such money (termed *bills of credit*) by the states; a prohibition which ought to have prevented the farther *chartering* of banks, though not the establishing of *private banks*—which, in essence, are but Common Cash-Clerks, and whose business, while they practise no wrong or deception in transacting it, is as legitimate as that of warehousing sugar or cotton. There were at that time three banks chartered, viz.: one in 1782, by Pennsylvania, of \$2,000,000; one in 1784, by Massachusetts, of \$1,600,000; and one in 1784, by New-York, of \$950,000. At the beginning of 1799, ten of the states had chartered banks, with an aggregate capital of \$15,050,000; of which \$5,000,000 belonged to Pennsylvania, \$2,900,000 to Massachusetts, \$2,430,000 to Connecticut, \$1,500,000 to Maryland, \$1,370,000 to New-York, \$640,000 to S. Carolina, \$500,000 each to Rhode-Island and Virginia, \$110,000 to Delaware, and \$100,000 to New-Hampshire.

Our Exports, in 1800, exceeded \$21 for each inhabitant. In 1799, the Exports of New-York were \$18,719,527; in 1820, after its population had increased 250 per cent., and when the bank capital of the United States had been puffed up to one hundred and thirty-seven millions, they were but \$13,163,244; nor did they once rise to the maximum of 1807 until after the opening of the great west by the Erie Canal. In 1799, we had the

member it, so long as we submit to it. I will only ask, therefore, whether we are yet ready to abandon a system that works so badly, and to adopt an honest system of trade and currency in its place—a system that shall enable each man to take as much wealth or work from others as he renders to others, and no more? That is the only unsettled question.

If we look at the present *mere disposition* of the Speculating Interest—that interest which, since the overthrow of Jefferson's financial policy by the war of 1812, has been paramount—if we balance the influence which patriotism and conscience can exert over it, in opposition to that of avarice, custom, and pride—the answer must, at once, be *No!* While such an interest shall control the market and the pulpit, the press and the bar, the greedy and the timid, all other interests will be subordinate in our halls of legislation, so long as the system can be kept afloat.

long end of the paper-money lever, and could produce cheap and sell dear: in 1820, England had pushed us to the short end—where we have foolishly kept ever since, as is shown by our exports (exclusive of specie) in the last fiscal year; three-fourths of which were products of the slave states, where the cost of production is not so much governed by the currency.

From 1834 to 1859, says Mr. Opdyke in a recent Report to the New-York Board of Currency, the average amount of bank circulation and deposits in the United States to each person was \$11.92; rising to \$17.61 for each person in 1837, and sinking to \$6.14 in 1843.—Such, O Americans, is your Commercial “Standard” and “Measure of Value!” Who can preserve his honesty, or be secure against bankruptcy, where such a *measure* is tolerated?

Paper Money being itself *the government*, (that is, in essence if not in appearance) it will never be put down through government instrumentality. But what say Necessity and the higher powers ?

The modern "Credit System," or what our democratic fathers termed the "British System of Finance," is fungus-like in one respect, having attained the greater part of its growth within the last hundred years. It is a system whereby Debt becomes the procurer of unchaste, unearned favors for Folly and Weakness. For the birth and growth of Debt, waste and want are sufficient; but it requires strength, and wealth, and prospects of gain, to sustain the life of Credit. Debt being a parasite of Credit, is certain to exhaust Credit in the end. Whenever privileged "capital" shall find, that giving trust has ceased to pay, and that Poverty has nothing more to mortgage, the end of the Credit System must be near. When every government and bond-issuing corporation shall have pledged all its revenues and possibilities of revenue; when every man's property and industry are mortgaged so deep by himself or his government that they will bear no more; and when the general mind and morals shall have become so debauched, through the corrupting influences of the system, that there is no longer any honesty to cheat nor any industry to prey on; then, (and unchecked progress in evil would take us even thus far) no new credits will be given, and the Credit System will misrule the earth no more. And this point we are certainly approaching, though it may never

be actually reached. I have heard old men (both Europeans and natives) say, that in their youth, a bankruptcy was so rare an occurrence that it continued the town-talk, sometimes for months, whenever a case presented; and Adam Smith, hardly a century ago, remarks—"The number of bankrupts, compared with the whole number engaged in trade and all other business, is not much more, perhaps, than one in one thousand." But a century of "progress" under the Credit System, has almost caused the difference to be a thousand to one the other way. Friedley's Practical Treatise on Business proves, by competent witnesses, that "among 100 merchants and business-men in Boston, not more than *three* ever acquire independence;" while, in New-York and Philadelphia, the percentage who break and die poor is even greater than in Boston. Such were men's chances under the Credit System declared to be, full ten years prior to the revulsion of '57; and as one year's business under the system at present, creates more debt than ten years' business created in the younger days of merchants still living, its climax must now be very near.

Some may say, however, that the same prediction against the Paper and Funding System which I now put forth, was uttered by wiser men than I a hundred years ago; and that no faith should be given to reasonings which experience has disproved. When the British government-debt had grown to be £140,000,000, (which is hardly one-seventh of the amount it has since grown up to) the ruin of England was deemed

by Hume to be complete,* while Adam Smith thought a slight addition to the load might prove fatal. The ablest of England's statesmen conceived that she could be saved from sinking under her load, only by throwing a part of it upon her American colonies. What am I, then, but a reviver of exploded fears and baseless croakings? I answer, *Delay must not be mistaken for Absolution*. The failure of those men's predictions was not owing to any flaw in their reasoning, but to deficiencies in their data. They knew not that the steam-engine, and power-loom, and machines of all kinds, would soon enable one Englishman to do the work of twenty, and enable British industry, in spite of all taxation, to undersell its competitors in all the markets of the earth.— They knew not that British policy would involve all Europe and America in the paper-money web even worse than England had involved herself. They dreamt not of opening the vast markets of Asia by means of opium-wars and systematic, never-ceasing aggressions. They reasoned on the just though unverified supposition, that the weight of their Debt System would fall mainly on their own backs, not on the backs of all men. Had the disease which they pronounced so dangerous grown less in the mean time—were debt less prevalent now than in the days of Hume and Grenville—we might consider their error funda-

* So says Macaulay; but I find in Hume's Essay on Public Credit, that he thought the system would last 'beyond all reasonable expectation,' and that he declines to limit its possible existence to so short a period as half a century.

mental ; but, it having increased quite as fast as they anticipated, the proper inference is, not that they overrated the disease, but that they underrated the amount of suffering which the patient could bear without dying.*

* To go over the ground once more :—Our modern Credit System, viewed as a whole and in the abstract, is a system of selling coins by persons having no coin on hand to deliver, or who have sold all their coin from one to fifty times before ; thus issuing more than one title to one piece of money, or granting money that is not owned by the grantor.

In principle, this practice is the same as that of *shingling* over a farm with a multiplicity of exclusive titles, and involves a dead loss with equal certainty to all the grantees save one, whenever the question of title comes to be finally settled.

The sellers of sham titles to coin or minted bullion, however, can put off the day of settlement much longer than the sellers of sham titles to land ; for the same *dollar* can be bought in and re-delivered twenty times, easier than the land-speculator can get back and re-deliver the same *acre* once.

The vender of false titles to money is quite safe, no matter how many titles he may have executed, while he can borrow or get possession of as many true dollars per day as he is required to deliver ; and many a financial juggler has managed to keep from five to fifty balls in the air at once, for a wonderful length of time, without breaking.

Neither does the destruction of important branches of the credit system involve the immediate death of the system. The heart may outlive the extremities a long time, but it cannot live always.

Most falsities live much longer than it seems possible for them to live when we consider their intrinsic weakness. John-Lawism is still as vigorous in Europe and America, as is Mahometanism in Asia ; all seeming deaths

‡ 8. The whole matter considered in a religious point of view.

There is another mode of solving the problem of the paper-winged Usury System, which, while corroborating the arithmetical in its results, enlarges the field of vision very much, and recon-

or bankruptcies of the serpent thus far having proved a mere shedding of its skin.

Any imposition, whether it be political, financial, or religious, that is kept up long enough to establish a dependant class or priesthood, generally shows the vicious vitality of a cancer, and is apt to kill the body it infests before yielding up its own existence. Even private insolvents continue to float in the business world, long after the law of specific gravities has turned against them. Hugh Miller, commenting on his experiences as a Scotch bank-clerk, says, that while none of the bank's customers ever failed without his foreseeing it, every bankruptcy was from ten to eighteen months later than he had expected it.

The "Credit System," therefore—the selling of paper titles to bullion by those who do not own the bullion which they assume to convey—will, in my judgment, keep up the vigor, till it is all spent, of the Great Usury System it springs from, and will then make its death all the more spasmodic and sudden. "The wages of sin is death," *always*, whether we buoy it up with paper stimulants or not. Usury will be neither more nor less fatal to us than it was to Rome, to the Asiatic empires, and to Egypt;—though we, by means of paper money, have made it a quick poison, while with them it was a comparatively slow one, that *gradually* enlarged the false distinctions which deharmonize and finally dehumanize a people. Usury, no matter how we alleviate it, infallibly falsifies and gangrenes that principle of Love and Confidence, which alone can keep the business world in harmony. It causes men more and more to despise, and distrust, and despoil one another; until the getting of other men's work without fully paying for it, or else the getting of other men's wages without fully earning them,

ciles the soul to its transient evils by disclosing the nobleness and immortality of their uses. As no man can go far in astronomy without tracing, in the order of the suns and worlds, and in the exactness of their motions, the existence of a Wisdom that is perfect ; so no man can truly be a statesman, or be versed in the history and motion of nations, without seeing therein the evidences of a divine plan and the guidance of a Divine Power. In the formation of the feeling, reasoning, wisdom-enjoying creature MAN, his Creator's first step is, of necessity, the man's *individualization*—the making him into a distinct being or SELF. As the formation of a root is necessary to the formation of a tree, so human selfishness or self-hood must be achieved before

becomes the chief end of all dealing ; and Language is converted into an engine of deceit ; and Love is oft but a mask worn for purposes of plunder.

Many reasoners manage to overlook the destructive and self-destroying tendencies of the Usury System, by confining their view to the *voluntary* borrowings of the speculative and the wealthy, and by assuming that payments for interest in general are, like these, only the capitalist's share of a jointly-earned profit. But rent or interest, as I understand it, includes *all the losses to which Labor is subjected by the disabilities of artificial poverty*—all the tribute-money which the poor have to pay for leave to live, or for leave to toil—and not merely the six or seven per cent. a year which the speculator pays the capitalist for enlarging his power of forestalling. Thus the rate of interest practically keeps pace with the necessity which compels men to pay interest ; some of the London coster-mongers, according to Mayhew, hiring money by the day "at the rate of £1040 per cent. per annum," while Rothschild is borrowing at less than three per cent.

the supplementary attributes of manhood can have either a foothold or a centre. Man's first school, therefore, is the school of selfishness; wherein he must stay till he be formed—till he have a *mind of his own*—before he can be capable of true and vigorous sympathy or love. He passes his early years in efforts to subordinate every thing outside of self to self; the duty and advantage of subordinating self to *the things above self* being beyond the infant capacity and comprehension, or, at any rate, contrary to the infant self's disposition or will. The step next in order to self-formation, (being, in fact, a continuation thereof on a noble instead of a narrow scale) is that of *self-procreation*—the projection of the growing self's forces, thoughts and influences into the more receptive of his fellow-selves. He thus plants and incarnates portions of himself outside of himself, and evolves the errant power of *sympathy* or *love*. His first attachments are, generally, to the things that are lowest and nearest. He finds them, like himself, imperfect; they soon cease to satisfy; he therefore carries his love farther and farther; he finds no rest until he carries it *higher* also, and reaches the "Most High"—the immutable principle of Justice, Harmony and Order—the King and Kingdom of Righteousness, where all loves blend in a common happiness, and all hearts are filled. As there is a great power in the whole vegetable kingdom, forcing all plants through the several growth-stages of root, stem, and branch, or of bud, flower, and fruit; so is there an equally great and palpable power in the human kingdom,

leading all its germs and seedlings from selfishness up to sympathy, and from sympathy up to righteousness or the order of God.

In glancing here at a subject like this, I may be excused for merely presenting truth to such as can see, without stopping to argue it into eyes that are unfit or unwilling; yet I will adduce *one* plain proof that the reign of selfishness is self-destructive, and cannot endure in any man for ever. *No self can serve itself in any particular, without going outside of itself and serving something else.* This rule holds good not only as to persons, but in regard to each member and function of the human system. The mouth, for example, masticates food, not for itself, but for the stomach. The stomach digests it, not to get chyme or chyle for itself, but for other organs; and so we might go on through the whole man, without finding one organ that works directly for itself, or that is not serving and being served by the others. The same law holds in regard to all trades in the body politic, so far as they are honest, and in regard to all orderly members of the human family; but I need not stop to show this in detail. Every reader can test the rule for himself; and all who do so will find that the rule is true, and that its application is universal.

Now, if it be true that, from the earliest ages, there has been an infinite, wisdom-governed Power, steadily raising, or fitting to be raised, every human being, by the development and elevation of its sympathies or loves, from the plane of selfishness to the plane of righteousness; if all the processes of human life and growth do

invariably (though it may be circuitously, and, to the unwise, inscrutably) tend to the great end of fitting man for, and raising him up to, a state of divine harmony or heavenly and eternal order;* then must all social institutions, and even all temporary aberrations from the right, be auxiliary to this eternal object, and exist or cease according to their efficiency in promoting it. It is certain that man cannot fulfil this divinely appointed destiny any farther than he learns to know Justice, and to love and do Right; a knowledge and practice which cannot be implanted at once, nor acquired, any more than the art of walking, without occasional slips and errors.—Man can no more have the growth in wisdom or experience of an angel at his birth, than he can be born a thousand years old; nor can any wisdom be really his own, any farther than it is got by some experience, some attraction, or some effort of his own. Besides, evil, aside from being a mighty quickener of man's desires and powers for the attainment of good, is a part of the science of good, just as a knowledge of shade is a part of

* "The pursuit of happiness," so commonly considered the chief end of man, is illusory; for as happiness is but the outflow or effect of righteousness, no one can grasp the effluence, who does not take to himself the substance whence it proceeds.

The doctrine, that all sin and misery do ultimately promote human virtue and happiness, is a necessary consequence of the infinity of God's wisdom and power. Our inability to see the *how* of its operation in many cases does not disprove it, any more than the blindness of an ox to the *uses* of vegetable decay, proves that process to be destructive instead of auxiliary to the increase of vegetable formations.

optics. The world of to-day would know comparatively nothing of the constitution, capacities and destiny of man, but for the temporary disorders which man has brought upon himself by sinning against them; and the political man, or human society, owes all its Magna Chartas, or landmarks of social and political right, to the wrongs which, in former ages, it has suffered from its tyrants and invaders.

Now, viewing the evils and dishonesties of Paper Money in this light, or in the light of their *ultimate uses*, I cannot but regard them with complacency. They have caused, or will cause, the world to know, much earlier than it would otherwise, what the rightful power of money is;—how to make money an instrument that shall work right to all and wrong to none;—how to make it a just regulator of the distribution of wealth among men, so that each shall be palpably rewarded according to his works. Paper Money has put the brain and sinews of Industry to their utmost stretch; it has stimulated enterprises and improvements without number, which, but for it, would not have been attempted: it has, like Aaron's serpent, swallowed up all lesser financial abuses and superstitions, so that Mammon can at last be decapitated by a single blow: it has sapped the foundations of the ancient aristocracies or arbitrary powers, and already established a sort of gambling-house equality in their place—a false and transitional state, which, let us hope, will soon yield to the pre-eminence of true merit and the reign of true order: it has made the chieftains of the industrial and commercial world

the real governors of the world, thus bringing all nations under, or within reach of, a single and a rightful power: it has in various ways commenced, or prepared the way for, such a political and social revolution as no past age ever beheld, and as no other power or weakness than Paper Money could have brought about in a thousand years to come. The Credit System is now too old to be materially modified or reformed. No personal or local influence can now control it, for it has become a world-wide power. It has nearly done its work. It will finish it, and then pass away, like a bubble or a sick man's dream.

If I am right, therefore; if ancient prophets and their most learned interpreters have been right; the world's destiny is fully fixed, and a new order of things is at hand. Ours, I suppose, is the country where the Paper System has been pushed the farthest, and where it is the ripest. If so, ours is the country that will first be brought into action, first be compelled to devise a new system of trade and finance, and put it in operation. It seems to me that it is already time for us to begin to study our problem. I have given it some thought for many years past, and will offer the result, or my Idea of a Perfect Currency, in another essay.

A Summary of the Principles and Doctrines concerning Usury, that are expressed or implied in the foregoing Essay.

I. The right to use a thing is consequent upon its ownership; and the right of ownership is derived from creative power, or skill-directed labor. According to the Natural Law of Use, a man, in order to obtain any benefit or enjoyment from his wealth, *must use it in person*, or at least be in sympathy with the holder or the consumer.*

II. The crime of Usury consists in the using of land, or any work of God or man, not for the employment of the holder's own powers or the satisfying of his own needs, but as a means of levying taxes or tribute upon the powers of the wronged and needy. But it is not usury to take payment of him who consumes a labor-product *in part*, any more than of him who consumes it entirely. The man who half-consumes a house should pay half the cost of building it; but when the user of a house has paid its full cost, such house in equity belongs to him, not to the person whom he has paid for it.

* The *right of use* is an inseparable adjunct of the *duty to use*; it exists in potency only where the *power* to use exists, as the right to life exists only in *the living*; and all the pleasures and advantages of a given use belong to the *doer* of it. A man may take helps or partners to perform a use, but cannot farm out or sell any use or duty that God has made *his*. Neither the moral law, nor any man's duty under it, can be changed by human volitions, or agreements, or mandates.

III. Where there are no arbitrary or artificial inequalities and disabilities, there can be no usury. In other words, a man's social and industrial independence must be abridged before the claimant of rent or interest can have any hold upon him or his works.

IV. The burdens of the Usury System multiply and increase in geometrical progression.—Usury being founded on the necessity of the payer, the *real* rate of usance increases with the increase of poverty, or with the increased waste of time and strength, and the intensified competition for capital and for employment, which is caused by multiplying 'the poor.' The *real* rate is, the actual loss which the poor suffer through lack of the means of life and industry. It includes their loss of dignity, virtue and happiness, as well as their loss of money. The *apparent* or *nominal* rate is, the net amount of cash received by the landlord, or the money-lord, above the allowance for risk and the costs of collection.

V. If man's law of use corresponded with God's, (which allows no creature to speculate on God's bounties, or to enjoy the *profits* of use where it does not perform the *function* or *duty* of use in person) there would be no inducement for a man to hoard more wealth or money than might be necessary for the supply of his natural wants; the only use he could make of his money would be to spend it, and of his other goods to exchange or enjoy them; all surplus commodities would be *steadily* pressed upon consumers; and the only check to production and trade would be *universal satiety*—a thing impossible so long as

man's capacities for happiness, and his power of begetting and of adopting dependants, shall remain unlimited.

VI. Unused wealth, like latent heat, is practically non-existent. That wealth which corrupts or destroys a higher wealth—the gold that strips its possessor of his humanity, and the luxuries that mutilate his virtue—such wealth is the extreme of poverty.

VII. Rent is not necessary to the cultivation of the earth, nor Interest to the producing of goods, nor Debt to the exchangings of commerce. (See Part II.)

Were I empowered to draft a law for the abolition of Usury and Increase, it should be in these words:

No man shall be entitled to make any charge for the flight of time, nor for God's work, nor for work that is either hurtful or useless, nor for work that he does not justly own, nor for any work twice over.



ESSAY II.

THE GENERAL NATURE AND HISTORY OF THE MODERN BANKING SYSTEM.—THE ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF MONEY.

§ 1. The Funding System.

THE Funding System antedated the Banking System, and contributed to, if it did not cause, the establishment of all National Banks.

The modern Funding System began in Venice in 1173, when a Chamber of Loans was instituted by government, a forced loan of one per cent. of every man's capital was made, and five per cent. interest thereon promised. Three centuries and a half afterwards, (in 1520) a part of the debt was paid off at the rate given for it by its then holders, and the interest on the residue reduced to two per cent. per annum.

The Funding System may be described as a device, adopted by necessitous or by iniquitous governments, for throwing the execution of money-contracts made by the office-holders of one generation, upon generations having nothing to do with the making of the bargains that are assumed to bind them. It is a system for enabling the rulers of one age to mortgage the children of future ages to the pawn-broker; or, rather, to

sell the wealth which future generations may create by their industry, without asking the consent of those generations, or giving them any of the cash borrowed in their name.*

§ 2. The Banking System.

The Venetian Chamber of Loans would occasionally have interest-money due to state creditors left uncalled for, perhaps for months; and it thus became, casually and in a small way, the holder of moneys belonging to private persons payable on demand, or a *Bank of Deposit*. In the course of time, it began to receive moneys from merchants for safe-keeping, and gradually took on the character of a mercantile institution.

* The supporters of the Funding System endeavor to extenuate its enormity by saying, that as the benefits of wars and of public works go to future generations, the cost thereof should, in part, be taken from the purses of future generations. But this is sophistry. Money can no more fight battles or dig canals, than bills of lading can carry a cargo across the ocean. All public works are done by LABOR and SKILL alone. The fighting of wars and the digging of canals must be done by living men, without any help from the unborn. No one thinks of giving back to the soldiers of the revolution, or to the builders of the Croton Aqueduct, any portion of the Life and Strength which they gave for us; and ought the government, in any case, to set the owners and sacrificers of senseless Money above the owners and sacrificers of Strength and Life? Ought the posterity of those who lose their LIVES in war, or who wear out their bodies in canal-digging and road-making, to pay an eternal tribute to the heirs of the usurers, who sacrifice only certain small engravings of "the American Bank Note Company," or, perhaps, a few round bits of metal with embossed sides and milled edges?

Spanish writers claim, that the earliest Bank of Deposit and Discount was instituted in 1401, by the magistrates of Barcelona.

The Bank of Amsterdam, started in 1609, and the Bank of Hamburg, started in 1619, were mere *bullion vaults* or *warehouses*, where coins and bullion were taken in for storage, subject to a small charge for safe-keeping.

The BANK OF ENGLAND, started in 1694, was partly a Government Loan-Chamber, and partly a Bank of Issue, Deposit and Discount for merchants; which multiplex character it retains to this day, \$70,000,000 of its present 'capital' or basis of issues consisting of overdue government 'promises to pay.'

According to M'Leod, the first private joint-stock or purely commercial bank was the Bank of Scotland, chartered in 1695, with a capital of £100,000.

The origin of banks and banking in England was as follows:—The ancient London merchants were wont to lodge their money in the Tower for safety. That untrustworthy king, Charles I., in 1620, seized the money which the merchants had lodged there, to the amount of £120,000.—The merchants then changed their practice, and kept their money on their own premises; but, being often robbed by their Cash-Clerks, they gradually fell into the way of depositing their spare cash with the goldsmiths, many of whom were money-lenders also. In Cromwell's time, the goldsmiths began to be called *bankers*, and Cromwell sometimes borrowed money of them, to meet emergencies which the Talking Army or

Parliament had failed to provide for. His successor, Charles II., was an inveterate borrower, who seldom paid a shilling of his indebtedness to Peter except by borrowing two shillings of Paul; while the next king, James II., was rather worse than better. William of Orange came next; and his necessities, caused by his great continental wars, led him to endow the money-lending and credit-lending interests with wings; that is, to establish the present union of bank and state—a union which has ever since enslaved the government to a gigantic corporation of money-lenders, (the Bank of England) and has enslaved the money-lending interest to the government.

In chartering the Bank of England, with its special powers and privileges, government virtually established a new privileged order, and committed an open outrage upon public justice; for there is no more reason in equity why government should grant to certain favorites a monopoly of the business of banking, than a monopoly of the business of farming; nor should the law know any difference between the *promises to pay* of one company, or trade, and those of another. The British government, ever since the establishment of this *paper nobility*, has been more or less subject to it; or, rather, the government and the Promise-coining Interest have been confederates against the Producing Interest, despoiling thousands of producers of almost the whole of their labor.

The power of mischief wielded by the Bank of England, however, (and the remark applies to

our own banks also) laid not so much in the privileges conferred upon it by government, as in the prevalence of *the John Law delusion* among the people—a delusion which, to this day, is almost universal, though seldom associated with Law's name. It originates, like most delusions, in a confusion of separately-true ideas. Because lands and houses, no less than coin, command labor and service from the working classes, and are even superior to coin in intrinsic value, Law laid it down as a principle, that money and real estate are identical in essence; and, therefore, that owners of real estate might, without injury to themselves or to the public, contract to deliver specie on demand, to the full value of their estates, without having any considerable amount of specie wherewith to meet their contracts!—To state the principle in other words: A bushel of corn and a bushel of salt are each worth half a dollar: therefore X, owning a cargo of salt, may agree to deliver from his ship 10,000 bushels of *corn* to bearer, on demand, without wronging any 'bearer!'—The scheme would work well enough in practice, so long as all the applicants should prefer salt to corn; but wo to poor X, and all who put their trust in him, when nothing but corn should be in demand, and his salt had lost its savor!

Having thus given a *key* to all the phenomena which the Banking System has manifested, there is little need of detailing the phenomena themselves. The Mississippi scheme, which Law got up in France—the South Sea scheme, got up by his first disciples in England—and all the Paper

Money schemes that have since been got up by those who followed him without knowing it, in Europe and in this country, from the days of the "continental money" to this hour—all are practical illustrations of the truth, that *specie alone is specie*; a truth which France, in 1793-6, could not put down by her *assignats*, though they were based on pledges of lands officially estimated at three thousand millions of dollars, and backed by ferocious penal laws against all who should refuse to take them at par; a truth which all the state bonds, and government stocks, and *consols*, now so potent over men's imaginations, will yet assuredly have to acknowledge and confirm.

I will close my outline-history of the Banking System, by giving the reader an insight into the famous *Scotch System of Banking*—which has worked admirably, as compared with all other paper systems, for a hundred years past; though there is little hope of its ever prevailing in less sharp-sighted countries than Scotland, the universal law in regard to financial systems being, that every people shall have the worst they can be made to bear.

In 1730, a Scotch Bank introduced the practice of granting *Cash Credits* to merchants and tradesmen—a practice which has since prevailed wherever banks or branch banks have been established, in Scotland, and the nature of which may be stated thus:—Almost every Scotchman in active business, (even the farmer and retail dealer) makes some bank his Cash-Clerk, daily depositing any surplus bank notes and money he may have on hand, and drawing out money by

check as his current needs may require. For his deposits, so far as they exceed his drafts on any day, *he is allowed interest until his drafts overbalance them*, (generally one per cent. less than the market rate) while he pays full interest for every penny he overdraws till it be replaced, whether he keep it for one day or many—but paying only one day's interest when he keeps the bank's money only one day. To secure the bank against loss by such overdrafts or 'cash credits,' it is stipulated with each customer in the beginning, that he shall never exceed a certain specified amount, and a bond securing the bank to such amount is given by two of his friends as sureties. These sureties not only secure the bank against loss through their principal, but their position naturally leads them to strengthen his hands in various ways, and to restrain him from hazardous operations.

Under the above system, it is clear, the cost of bank accommodations to business men is very small compared with the cost under our system; while the allowing of interest, by the bank, on every note on deposit for every day it remains, brings all bank notes into some bank the instant they can be spared from circulation, and so renders any *permanent* over-issue of bank notes both unprofitable and impossible.

The discounting of notes and bills of exchange, the chief function of our banks, is a comparatively small and casual business with the Scotch banks; their customers finding it cheaper to get temporary advances, when needed, by means of their 'cash credits.'

That merchants' checks against their respective 'deposits,' or against their 'cash credits,' are complete substitutes for bank notes, and make banks of issue unnecessary, is obvious. The London merchants first commenced the use of bank checks about 1780. The London bankers, with the exception of the Bank of England, issue no notes whatsoever.

§ 3. Historical Facts concerning Money.

That the grand use of Bullion and Money has always been "to settle trade balances," or "to equalize the exchanges," (i. e., to enable persons exchanging goods to separate, and go their way, without either party leaving any debt behind) is indicated, if not proved, by the form of the primitive money-weights. During the ages when the more advanced families or tribes led a pastoral life, with little other wealth than their flocks and herds, their trade would necessarily consist, for the most part, in the exchanging of animals. It would seldom happen that the number and value of the animals wanted by each party from the flock of the other would come out even, or so that one would not be equitably entitled to a sheep, a goat, an ox, or a value of some sort, which the herds of the other could not then satisfactorily supply. In such case, the creditor would be glad to take his balance in that commodity which was handiest to carry, and which could, without injury to its value, be cut into a perfect equation of his due, viz., *bullion*. The quantity of bullion to be given could only be known by weighing it; and ancient property-

holders, for more than a thousand years after the time of Abraham, carried money-scales about them for that purpose. Their money-weights were in the form of lambs, oxen, the head of a bull, &c. ;* whence we may infer that an amount of silver sufficient to lift the lamb-shaped weight was commonly reckoned *a lamb's-worth*, and that an *ox-worth* of silver would be indicated by the ox-weight. But, in time, men learnt that it was needless to use their scales every time that a trade-balance was to be given ; that an *ox-worth*, once made out truly, *would stay an ox-worth while the silver lasted* ; and the more wealthy adopted the practice of stamping every ox-worth and lamb's worth they had with the outline of an ox or a lamb, so as permanently to denote its value. Such, I suppose, were the PRIMITIVE MONEY-COINS, or carefully ascertained and permanently certified metallic equations of value.

Silver began to be coined in Rome 269 B. C., or 2130 years ago ; gold, 62 years later. After the wealth of Rome became the property of the few, *bankers*, or common Cash-Clerks, were employed, and bank checks also. The Carthaginians had *leather money*—whence it follows that they had some among them who were compelled by their necessities to take it.

* One meaning of *pecus*, the root of *pecuniary*, is said to be *cattle*.

Sundry duck-shaped weights, the smallest weighing about a pennyweight, the largest over forty pounds, have recently been found among the ruins of Nineveh. Perhaps they represented the value of one or more ducks, each according to its weight—the lesser weights in silver, the larger in wheat or pulse.

In England, down to the time of Henry VIII., (who died in 1547) the coinage was regulated by the old Saxon or Tower pound, which was 15 dwt. lighter than the pound Troy, the present standard; and, down to the time of Edward I., it consisted of silver pennies only, 240 to the pound, and containing one part of alloy to $12\frac{1}{2}$ parts of silver. In 1301, Edward I. coined the pound into 243 pennies, cheating his subjects of 3d. in every pound; and a pound Troy of silver is now wrought into £3 6s.—a cheatage of 552 pence to the pound Troy. The old national coin of England, the silver penny, has not been coined since the time of Charles II. Shillings were first coined by Henry VII. in 1503, weighing 144 grains: (weight of present shilling, $80\frac{1}{2}$ grains, or 66s. to the pound Troy.) Copper has been coined in England since 1672.

The first English gold coin was the Florin=6s., by Edward III. in 1344. It was soon supplanted by the Noble=6s. 8d. Sovereigns were first coined in 1503, containing 240 grs. of gold. Since 1718, the Sovereign has contained (exclusive of alloy) only 113.12 grains, or £46 14s. 6d. to the pound Troy. The present standard of fineness, (22 parts gold to 2 alloy) was fixed by Henry VIII.

In 1837, Congress fixed our standard of fineness, both for silver and gold, at one part alloy to nine parts pure bullion; and it fixed the Eagle at 258 grs. standard (=232.2 fine) gold—the Dollar at $412\frac{1}{2}$ grs. standard (=371 $\frac{1}{2}$ fine) silver.

After pondering these general facts and views concerning Money, the reader will perceive the folly of imputing to Money *per se*, the mischiefs which result from its falsification and misuse. Money, when rightly used, is, no less than the merchant's ledger, a sacred implement of Justice. It would always tend to promote peace and good will among men, if every man had all the money that he had fairly earned by doing service to his fellow-men, and if no man could control a single coin that was not honestly his own.

As to making Money beget Money—a thing which Aristotle says is against nature, for coins cannot, like sheep, be made to copulate and bring forth young—there is no more justice in making a borrower of coins return more coins than he borrowed, than in demanding two umbrellas from the borrower of your umbrella. I doubt whether a man has any more right to *lend* the coins he receives in reward of his industry, than an officer has to lend his commission, or a college-graduate his diploma. Money, the badge of Productive Industry, ought to be worn by those who have earned it, and by them alone. Charity ought not to give it, even to the sick; the proper gifts of Charity being honest guidance and personal service instead of heartless cash. Still less ought Industry and Economy to lend *their* money to Laziness and Mismanagement. Our laws should give no encouragement to the abominable practice of lending money—a practice which fills the world with cheats and debtors instead of MEN. They should proclaim the principle, that any one who, by lending the money of his earning, ena-

bles a drone or a fool to strut in false plumage, is as unworthy of legal countenance as the traveller who should lend his baggage-check; and every wilful lender of money ought to be left to his own resources to get it back.

Harsh as this doctrine may seem at first, it is essentially just and beneficent, and no less favorable to the permanent elevation of the poor and ignorant than to the dignity and true interest of the doers of useful work. Money, being essentially a mere implement for the instant settlement of trade-balances as they arise, all efforts to load it with any other function, like efforts to give an extra function to the scale-beam, can only pervert it into an engine of falsehood, injustice and disorder.

A. D. 1861.

ESSAY III.

THE "PROTECTIVE SYSTEM" NO CORRECTIVE OF THE EVILS CAUSED BY PAPER MONEY.

It has been shown, (see Essay I. § 7) that, in alloying the circulating medium of a country with substances of no intrinsic value—in putting either base metal or paper, no matter how, on an equality with bullion—just so much purchasing-power as is conferred on the worthless substance is abstracted from the true coin; whereby the money-cost of production is increased, importations are stimulated, and exports (except exports of the underrated bullion) are proportionally obstructed: consequently, that the foreign trade of a country whose currency is much debased, must infallibly be a losing or one-sided trade—a trade which consists in buying goods dear and selling specie cheap—and which soon leaves the paper portion of the currency without a "specie basis" to stand on. Hence, though the first effect of Paper Money is to endow the Speculating Interest with unlimited wealth and powers of forestalling, (command of money, while it lasts, being command of all things purchaseable with money) this first effect soon causes opposite effects, which operate with deadly force *against*

most traffickers for increase ; such as, the lack of *demand*, through the general impoverishment of customers ; scarcity of money, which always flows *from* a high-price market, save while it can be temporarily forced up hill by high rates of interest ; sudden reductions of market-prices, through forced sales by weak holders ; specie-exports, which compel the banks to cut off the ' facilities ' of their debtors and press them for money at the same time ;—which results are often more injurious to the Speculating Interest as a whole, or to all save the master-capitalists, than to any other ; turning the gold of expectation into ashes of disappointment, and the dreams of princely grandeur into waking-horrors of bankruptcy.

Shortly after the war of 1812-14, all these evils came upon us with great severity ; when the politicians in the Paper Interest undertook to heal them by giving huge doses of physic to Trade, and by trampling on the Natural Rights of Property, without in any way disturbing the great *cause* of the evils to be allayed. Their system, which they saw fit to call the *American* or the *Protective System*, (for practical cheating requires verbal lying to palm it off and make it respectable) was substantially this :—Without prohibiting foreign trade—for that would have been a practical annihilation of all our surplus products, preventing them from being a source of wealth or of happiness to any body—they subjected the producers of our exports to a complex scheme of pains and penalties, designed to make them bring home their pay from the world's market, not in such articles as *they, the owners,*

wanted, nor in such articles as they could sell most profitably in our market, but in such articles as the banks, and other pet trades or interests, desired to have brought here for sale!—By means of ‘discriminating duties,’ aimed specially against the kinds of goods in which foreign workmen surpass us, and which it is our *interest* to take in return for our exports, the producers of American exports, or their mercantile representatives, were required to bring home such goods as foreigners do *not* make best and cheapest, or else specie for the benefit of the banks. This policy has been steadily pursued ever since England, by her second war against us, prevented the *Jeffersonian*, and restored the *Hamiltonian, system of finance*—a period of more than forty years; and as this long trial has proved the worthlessness of the system as a ‘protection to home industry;’ as our working-men at this day, notwithstanding the spread of intelligence among them, (much of which, however, is but *false intelligence* or self-conceit) are certainly much more dependant and demoralized as a class than they were in the presidency of Jefferson—having had constant cause to say to their protectionist leaders,

“We never are, but always to be, blest;”

I propose to show *why* the system ever has failed, and ever must fail, to cure the evils of Paper Money. I hope thus to do *my* part toward ridding my country of a lie, which the Speculating Interest have spent myriads of dollars to disseminate, and which has subjected our Trade and Industry to hundreds of millions of loss.

A good and sufficient reason why a 'protective tariff' has ever failed to do what its champions have ever promised for it is, that it only attacks the *utterances* of the disease, and only aims to dry up the *mouth* of the river, without applying any check to its source. On the contrary, both its operation and design are to increase paper issues; for it builds a wall to keep out *cheap* goods from abroad, (the great *natural check* upon bank issues) and thus encourages over-issues by raising hopes of impunity. But it is impossible to make the impunity permanent, because a steady issue of bank paper is certain, sooner or later, to raise prices so high, that the prohibitory tax on foreign goods can no longer keep them out; when the outflow of specie is all the greater in consequence of its previous stoppage, just as the flow of water is increased, when a river overcomes an artificial embankment. And though the champions of the system, whenever its worthlessness is proved by a 'revulsion' of this sort, cry out that it is only the *lowness* of the tariff that is in fault, they never explain why it is that the greatest revulsions always follow the highest tariffs;—whence I hold their cry to be as absurd, as it would be to account for the prostration which follows a drunken fit, by saying that the sufferer had drank too little.

Thus we see that, even as a protection for the banks and speculators, the Protective System is but a transient and unsafe, though perhaps the best possible, reliance. But if we judge it, not in reference to its real but its pretended object, 'the protection of American Industry,' it is a

fraud* whose every fruit is evil. Even the apparent rise which it sometimes causes in wages is fallacious; for, though it should enable the laborer to get more 'dollars' for a week's work, or for the products thereof, than he could otherwise, yet it practically diminishes the value or purchasing-power of such 'dollars' in a much greater degree; so that the producer gets less actual wealth for the wealth he gives others, even when he is flattered with an increase of sham money. Nothing can *truly* increase the wages of labor, save *an increase in the demand for labor and its products*; and nothing tends so powerfully to lessen such demand, as the placing of arbitrary restrictions upon foreign trade, and so narrowing the laborer's market.

At the time of our entering upon this 'protec-

* Not one of our magical Tariffs has ever given even a show of bounty or direct encouragement to any portion of the Producing Interest, except such members thereof as were fortunate enough to have shops of their own, most of whom derive their wealth, in a great measure, from the sweat of necessity-driven hirelings; the high duties on imported work never having been accompanied by duties upon *imported workmen*—the only imports that could come in direct competition with Labor, sole merchandise of the laboring poor. *E. g.*, while the master-tailors had 50 per cent. protection against ready-made clothing, their journeymen had not one per cent. protection against the importation of ready-made tailors—and so of other trades. The producers of smooth words and false expectations, not the producers of solid wealth, originated the protective system; and, not loving other people better than themselves, they awarded its imaginary advantages to the poor operatives, and reserved the rest for home consumption.

tive system,' I remember that many contradictory things were said of it, for the purpose of enlisting different interests in its favor. To the owner of carding-machines and spinning-jennies, *e. g.*, it was said that a tax of 50 per cent. on the products of foreign spinning-jennies would be a virtual bounty of 50 per cent. to him, on all the products of his machines. Similar appeals were made to the selfishness of other mechanics, until each branch of them became clamorous for high duties on the kinds of goods which it produced. The agricultural interest, and all upon whom the *paying* of these bounties would fall, should it fall any where, were told, firstly, that the increased demand for farm-products which would result from innumerable bounty-tempted farmers exchanging the plough for the spinning-jenny, would be equivalent to a 50 per cent. bounty to those who should stick to their farms: secondly, that the competition which *protection* would induce among the home manufacturers, would bring their selling-prices below the foreign, and so make the work of 'protected' Americans, cheaper than the 'pauper labor' which the system was designed to exclude! Thus nicely was this wonderful *American System* adapted to every grade of selfishness, and every form of gullet. It could put a stop to foreign imports, without lessening the trade of our importers or the number of our ships and seamen. It could enable our manufacturers to get double price for their goods, without exacting more than half price from the consumer. So eager were the factory-owners and politicians to enrich us, by means of this new

philosopher's stone, in 1828, that they imposed a tax on some machine-products of over 100 per cent.; for cloths costing a single cent over \$1 a yard, were *deemed* to have cost \$2 50, and made to pay 40 or even 50 per cent. duty on the *false* valuation. Next to paper bullion, this system of pains and penalties against the bringing in of wealth from foreign lands, 'was the sovereignest thing in the world' to make a nation rich.

Seriously—the policy which we entered upon in 1816, and aggravated to the above extreme in 1828, actually did increase the amount of money in some men's pockets, as any other dishonesty might have done; but it could not overthrow the laws of trade, nor enable us to *produce cheap* under a paper currency: it could not prevent bank expansions from raising the price of foreign goods as well as domestic, and so 'protecting' foreign producers more effectually than the tariff could protect any American, because our bank expansions added nothing to the cost of production in any country save our own: it could not erase the inherent tendency of specie to run down hill, or toward the country where it commands most value: it could not prevent these causes from ultimating in periodical 'panics,' 'contractions of the currency,' and 'revulsions' whose violence filled our whole country with bankruptcy and financial death.

It may be asked by the incredulous hereafter, when the absence of such folly shall make its former existence doubtful, "If the system worked as badly as I represent, why was it borne with so long?" I might ask in return, why does the

man whom debt has ruined, continue to run in debt? whom lying has ruined, continue to lie? whom drunkenness has ruined, continue to drink? Because he who lacks the virtue to avoid evil courses when they have no established hold upon him, will lack virtue to escape after he has weakened himself, and strengthened them, by habit. Because human selfishness, when it puts away honesty, ceases to be wise, but cheats itself by rating its own poor will and wishes above God's truth; thus losing every game it plays, and every defeat rendering its playing still more reckless. The truth is, this 'protective system' bore so unequally on different branches of industry, and on different sections of country, as to give some a license to exact tribute from others, and to excite dishonest hopes and wishes in nearly all. Government having once opened the flood-gates of favoritism, each workman and each class was too weak to stem the torrent, and naturally strove to win as much and lose as little as possible.—The latter aimed to get the highest possible duty on imported hats; the shoemaker, on imported shoes; the owners of cloth-factories, on imported cloths; and so on, through all the trades which foreign competition could affect. Some were more successful, and some less; some got 5 per cent. 'protection,' some 20, some 30, some 50, with a juggle of false valuation that might raise it above 100 in practice; but all who got or tried to get any favoritism at all, became as truly implicated in the crime as those who got most, and as truly belonged with the opponents of free trade and natural justice. Hence the long en-

duration of the system, notwithstanding its impolicy and wickedness.

Great pecuniary losses resulted from the fallacious hopes thus raised—hopes which led thousands to embark in ‘protected’ branches of industry that they did not understand, trusting to a congressional abrogation of God’s laws of trade for their customers and profits—yet all pecuniary losses have been as nothing, compared with the injury done to our national dignity and our political morals. The Protective System was a second dagger planted in the heart of democratic government, Paper Money being the first. It transformed our government from an upholder and obeyer of God’s justice, into a framer and enforcer of antagonistic laws; from a protector of man’s personal rights, into their violator and betrayer; from a public watchman, into a public abettor of trespass and extortion. It created a new order of nobility, in fact if not in form; for it privileged men to make free with other men’s rights and earnings. It degraded the laborer, by segregating him from the world-wide Republic of Industry—a republic where Merit, or the Best Workman, governs by divine right—and compelling him, on local grounds, to spend his substance with those who could *not* serve him cheapest and best. By stripping him of his just rights over *his own purse*, the fruits of his own toil, it robbed him of his manhood and made him a Slave—a Government Chattel—who must buy and sell, not according to his own will, but the will of a master. I say this, not in the language of passion, but in scientific exactness; for, cer-

tainly, so far as a man holds his personal rights subject to the power of another—so far as he is deprived of any *just* liberty, whether by an individual or by government—so far is he a slave, if not in title yet in truth. Nor is the injury or the degradation any the less, because it is inflicted by the victim's government instead of open enemies. Government can no more make or unmake the personal rights of its citizens, than a farmer's watch-dog can make or unmake his title to his sheep. All that governments or majorities can rightfully do, in regard to any man's natural rights and liberties, is to guard them faithfully and strike down every invader. The fact that I and my fellow-citizens have clubbed together and employ a common guard to stand sentry over our rights and liberties, gives me no claim to any right that is theirs, and gives them no destroying power over any right that is mine. They have no more right to rob me of my money, or of my right to spend it with whom I please, because I live under the same government that they do, than I have to shoot them because they live under the same government that I do.

If we consider the Protective System in its other aspect, that of a system of taxation for the support of government, it is, if possible, worse still. It apportions the burdens of government without the slightest regard to equity, stripping some men and sections of perhaps a fourth of all their toil, while giving bounties or pensions to others, whose lives are no more virtuous and whose industry is no more useful. Under the tariff of 1828, two men, A and B, might each

take his year's produce to the old world and sell it for the same amount—say \$1100. If A brought home the proceeds of his crop in lace and jewelry, he would be taxed on his return $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on \$1100 = \$82 50. If B brought home his crop in the form of 1000 yards of woollens, at \$1 10 per yard, government would tax him 45 per cent. on an *assumed value* of \$2500 = \$1125, or \$1042 50 more than A. Less than one-thirteenth of A's crop would go for taxes; government would eat up the whole of B's!

Another wrong of the Protective System is, that it throws the whole burden of federal taxation upon one kind of property, or the producers thereof, while practically exempting all others. It throws the whole burden upon those producers *who sell their work in the world's market, or abroad*; leaving those who produce nothing for, and carry nothing to, that market, tax-free. Worst of all, (and this is the secret of its *protective power*) it enables this latter class to levy taxes or tribute upon the former, for their own private pleasure and emolument; for, to prohibit those who sell their crops in the world's market from buying their supplies there, is to force them to buy in the *protected* market, and to put them in the power of those who *sell* or keep stands in it. It is plain that if all the farmers of a township were required to pay 25 per cent. duty, to the county treasurer, on all goods and supplies not purchased by them at some *protected* store, the protected merchant might add 24 per cent. to his prices without losing their custom; for the farmers would find it cheaper to pay a tribute of

24 per cent. to him than 25 per cent. to the authors of his privilege; and the operation of the principle is the same when applied to a continent, as when applied to a township.

It should be borne in mind, that though we speak of taxing foreign *goods*, taxes fall not on the dead goods, but on their living *owner*; that if the owner be a foreigner, who owes us neither tribute nor allegiance, an attempt to tax him is an attempt upon the property of a stranger; and if the owner be an American, who has paid for the goods by his own 'American industry,' any tax levied nominally upon them is levied really upon *him*—upon American property and labor. The imports that are *paid for* in American industry, are *products* of American industry; and every pretended tax upon such imports, is, practically, a tax upon *the producers of the exports that paid for them*, as I will prove by the *argument ad hominem*, to the satisfaction of Greeley himself. Let me open a custom-house at every entrance to his dominions, and lay a 'protective duty' on all his imports, whether of printing-paper or of money—i. e., on all the values which men foreign to the Tribune office may send there in payment for his literary exports. I will conscientiously confine my operations to his *imports*, without taxing his exports, whether by mail or carrier, a single cent; and if he do not confess, after a trial of six months, that a tax on imports is a tax on exports—that a tax on his subscription-money is a tax on every paper that he prints—I will thenceforth give him 100 per cent. 'protection' all the days of his life.

If it be conceded that 50 per cent. duty on the *proceeds* of a newspaper, whether they come in the form of cash or barter, would be a tax of 50 per cent. on the industry of its printer; or, that a systematic seizure by government of one-half the flour going home from mill, would be a virtual confiscation of one-half the wheat it was made from; *then must every tax on our cotton-proceeds, as they come into port from the world's market, be a tax on the cotton-grower.* And the disabilities put upon the cotton-grower in regard to selling in foreign markets, would compel him to accept less than world's-market values for all the cotton that he might sell in the home-market, to be worked up at home. Now, as nearly all the revenues of the federal government have always been raised by duties on the *proceeds of American industry sent to foreign lands*; as those citizens who produced nothing for export could have no interest in such proceeds, except by purchase, and, when purchasing world's-market commodities, could lower the price according to the disabilities attached to them or to their owner; and as about one-half of all our world's-market products, or exports, (except gold and silver) have, for forty years past, been cotton; it follows that *about one-half* of all the taxes of the federal government, have been *borne by a single branch of agriculture, which is confined to one-fourth of the states*; while at least one-half of our people, (i. e., all who have sent nothing of their own production to the world's market, and upon whom, therefore, no part of the weight of our imports, or of the artificial burdens appended

thereto, could rest) have escaped federal taxation altogether.*

To understand distinctly where the weight of the tariff falls, and whence the profits it conveys to pet interests are taken, (for every weight must bear on something, and all money-profits must be parted with by somebody before they can be pocketed by any body) we must ponder these cardinal truths of financial science, viz. :—That all schemes for making either persons or nations rich without work, or out of proportion to the wealth they may actually produce, are utter fallacies, or else schemes of spoliation. That, as it is impossible for darkness to cover all the earth at once, so long as the sun shall shine in

* Labor, productive labor, pays all taxes in the end, no matter what juggle may be practised to befog the laborer. The importing merchant has but an errand-boy's interest in taxes on imports. To take from the reservoir is to take from the fountain.

It is a proverb that *all taxes fall on the consumer*. Who is the consumer? Who, save the Producer of a thing, can have any right to consume it? Is not he who consumes a thing without its maker's warrant either a cheat or a robber?—and when government forces a Producer to let certain favorites, or classes, or callings, consume his work at half-price, is it any the less a robbery for being done under the American flag, instead of the flag of a pirate?

Some modern Munchausen tells of a kind of fish-hawk with a straight intestine, whence its prey escapes as fast as swallowed. When one of these 'consumers' catches an eel, another swallows it on its outward passage; then another, and another, till it goes through the whole flock, and finally regains its native element. Now goods are consumed by men much after the manner of Munchausen's eel. I 'consume' a thing when I *convert* it

the heavens, neither can any financial imposition darken all nations at once so long as Truth shall reign. That genuine labor-products, such as gold, wheat, cotton, and things whose value depends on true human needs instead of mesmeric and governmental illusions, will always have a world-wide currency; while conventional wealth and might can only be kept up, by being kept within the charmed circle or mesmeric sphere of their imagination-forcing creators. That there must always be a world's market, or centre of trade for all nations, where things without intrinsic value are but losing ventures, and whither only things of true use can be profitably sent; such world's market being not so much a geographical center as a *region of commercial sanity*, wherein no man can be a merchant any farther than he respects verities, and takes things for

into some other thing; also, when I put it to *use*, or in any way enjoy it. I consume my wheat when I convert it into flour, or my flour into bread, or my bread into chyme, or my chyme into chyle, or my chyle into blood, or my blood into muscle, or force, or life, or when I emit a mental force to the reader. I equally 'consume' my wheat when, through a trade-process, I convert it into cloth, or boots, or horse-shoes, or money, or foreign merchandise. When the Producer is not robbed of his work by force or fraud, he is always the *first* consumer—the *first* link in the chain—bearing the weight of all the others, and of all burdens that may be attached to any of the dependant links. Therefore, *the Productive Laborer bears the taxes on Labor-Products*. In other words, every tax on goods is a tax on THE OWNER; who, in all cases, is either their direct or their indirect Producer;—bringing goods into the country by sending one's own work or wages to other countries, being an indirect production thereof.

exactly what they are. That the true financial health and strength of a country, are known by the ability of its producers to sell their works in the world's market readily and profitably; which they can do in proportion to the lightness of their taxes, impositions and extortions, and the extent of their industry and skill. That as the farmer gains in purse, not by the grain he eats, but by what he sells, so the only persons (save miners of the precious metals) who add aught to the moneyed wealth of a nation, are those who send and sell their labor-products abroad; and a government that obstructs such sales by taxing its citizens, or confiscating portions of their goods, as they return from foreign markets with their purchases, not only commits a sin, but a fatal blunder also. That cotton, and all products readily convertible into specie in the world's market, or that answer the purposes of cash therein, are virtual specie to that extent; and every injury done to specie by the issuing of paper, is equally an injury to such cash-products, or, rather, to their producers and owners. That in proportion as the wealth-producers of a country are compelled, either by law or custom, to give real wealth for paper wealth, real work or service for sham work or service, the cost of production among them is increased, and their ability to compete with other nations is diminished. That the real object and operation of a protective tariff are, to force a home market for such citizens as are thus shut out of the world's market, at the expense of such other citizens as,

owing to peculiar advantages of soil or climate, or to superior skill in certain kinds of work, are *not* shut out of the world's market. Thus, a protective tariff is a bludgeon to prevent people from making good bargains abroad and bringing wealth into their own country, by way of driving them into bad bargains at home. It would never have been thought of but for the disturbing influence of paper money. It is as powerless as a land-tax to *create* wealth, though it *can* be used to force existing wealth out of its natural channel, and to wrest it from its owners. It can sometimes help a starving operative out of work to knock down and strip some less starved fellow-citizen as he travels along trade's highway; but it never put a cent in any starveling's purse, without first taking it from some one having a better right to it than the taker. Its chief use has been, to enable the Speculating or Master States to prey upon the Agricultural or Slave States. It has enabled those states wherein the Speculating Interest is predominant, regardless of the constitutional prohibition of paper-money emissions by the states, to indirectly emit 'bills of credit' in sufficient quantity to triple or quadruple the money-cost of manufacturing within their limits, and thus to almost shut their manufactures out of foreign markets. Those states wherein the agricultural interest had most intellect and influence, though sinning in the same way, did not sin to the same extent, or not enough to close the world's market against their products; their yearly exports being from \$100,-

000,000 to \$200,000,000 in value.* The speculators and politicians, who form the ruling class or the 'lords brethren' of the master states, instead of repenting and doing works meet for repentance, use the powers of the federal government to perpetrate another wrong, and compel the exporting states to spend the proceeds of their exports in *the protected* market instead of the world's market. They thus deprive the people of the agricultural or slave states of their just liberty. They reduce them beneath slavery as to their disabilities, denying them that control over *their own money*, which all negro-holders practically concede to their negroes; yet these speculators and politicians, while thus wielding more than a slave-holder's powers, shirk all the burdens and responsibilities of a master. They have thus converted our once democratic government into an aristocratic government—a respecter of trades and sections—a trespasser on personal rights—a creator of aristocracies which have not even the pretence of merit;—arraying trade against trade, section against section, interest against interest, and selfishness against right, until society trembles; until thousands

* Mr. Clingman, in a recent speech to the Senate, says that the total exports of the United States (exclusive of coin and bullion) for the last fiscal year, (1859) were \$278,000,000;—of which \$5,281,000 were products of the free states, \$188,693,000 were products of the slave states, and \$84,417,000 were produced by the free and slave states conjointly. If we credit one-fourth of this latter sum to the slave states, it would make their total share of the year's exports (bullion excepted) \$209,795,000, and that of the free states \$68,596,000—ratio, 3 to 1.

of those who once hoped most from our federal union, and most loved it, have come to regard its once silken cords as a highwayman's lasso, or as the halter of a Jeffries.

Such have been the fruits of the 'Protective System'—of our forty-years' struggle to escape God's vengeance against Paper Money—nor are they any the less bitter because that system's advocates fancy, or have persuaded themselves, that they are actuated by patriotism instead of covetousness. All doers of bad acts have a genius for finding out good motives. The Pharisees crucified Jesus out of a holy zeal for religion and God's honor ; while Judas devoted his thirty pieces of silver to the corpses of the friendless. The truth is, that no motives of religion, or of benevolence, or of patriotism, can sanctify a dishonest policy ; nor can such motives, when genuine, ever bring forth wicked measures, or unjust laws, or any thing evil.

A. D. 1859.

*Maxims concerning Currency, Property, and
Taxation.*

I.

1. The natural purchasing power of a given quantity of gold or silver is equal to its labor-cost, or the amount of work and skill requisite, on an average under favorable circumstances, to mine and refine such quantity, and bring it to the place of valuation.

2. The effective power of gold, like that of truth, is its power to sway man's mind and conduct; every imaginary transfer of the power of either to that which is not gold, or not truth, being *a lie*.

3. By imputing to paper money the powers of true money, we rob the latter of all that we impart to the former; for, to deny this, is to assert that gold can transfer its power and keep it; or, that by making two title-deeds to one farm the value of the farm would be doubled; which is absurd. Therefore, when the banks add \$300,000,000 of paper to a gold currency of \$100,000,000, the whole \$400,000,000 can have no more purchasing-power than the gold had before the paper was added.*

4. Every debasement or *paperization* of the bullion of a country, extends to all the products

* Liabilities of all the banks in the U. S. January 1,
1860, \$531,000,000

Amount of specie then held by them, 83,994,000

Paper titles to each dollar in bank, 6 and a fraction.

of such country which belong to the bullion family, or which are intrinsically on a par with, commanding and commanded by, bullion in the world's market. Thus, the purchasing-power of the gold product of California, and that of the cotton crop of Georgia, are equally weakened by issues of paper money, so far as the buying of *real* wealth is concerned.*

II.

1. As a matter of pecuniary right, apart from all considerations of hospitality and of charity, the wealth that a man directly or indirectly creates or causes to exist, (fair exchange or buying being an indirect or secondary production of the wealth got thereby) is all the wealth that he can justly claim as his property. The man who is forced to accept less than this, is a slave; who takes more, either a parasite or a spoiler.

2. Ostensible production, or putting the last hand to a work, is not enough to establish an absolute title to it. To make a wheat-crop wholly his, the sower must make the plough used his, by compensating the plough-maker; whose title also is incomplete unless he have compensated all his helpers, back to the miner of the iron, the carriers who brought it to him, and the nautical instrument maker who helped them to find their

* What a pity Lycurgus did not think of Paper Credit when he wished to abolish gold and silver from Sparta! It would have served his purpose better than the lumps of iron he made use of as money; and would also have prevented more effectually all commerce with strangers, as being of so much less real and intrinsic value. HUME.

way. But he need not pay all antecedent workers and helpers in person. He pays them when he pays the man who paid them.

3. When wealth is created mediatorially, (i. e., through an apprentice or a hireling who cannot work without a guide, or a semi-brute who will not work without a driver) the ownership is in the inspiring or propelling mind, provided he rewards and punishes his subjects according to their deserts. But the abuse of a master's right works its forfeiture, or puts it on a level with the highwayman's right to his pistols.

4. We rob Skill of its proprietary right to our respect, when we suffer Pretension to pass for Skill: we rob Industry whenever we give to fuss and noise the honors or the wages due to genuine work.

5. All Property and all Debts belong to, or at least first belonged to, the *individuals* by whom they were created; and neither can be transferred to other persons without a *mutual* bargain. The honest man, therefore, should beware of permitting knaves to *we* or *our* any property which he creates, nor should he let them *assume* him into a liability for debts of *their* creating.

III.

1. The Right of Trade is an exercise or vital function of the Right of Property; and every abridgment or obstruction of the former, weakens the latter.

2. Taxes should be laid to pay for defending the rights of the tax-payer, and for nothing else. There should be no exemption for favorites or

pet classes, no unequal imposition upon any class or section. Still less should human government, by using the taxing power to force custom for poor workmen or dear workmen, seek to undermine those laws of the divine government which control the great Republic of Trade and Industry. He who does his work best and cheapest, has a *divine right* to the first place in the world's market; and no government can rob him of it, or rob its people of their right to profit by his skill, without committing both a sin and a folly.

3. That man can work best, who has most experience and skill in his vocation, and who can command the best aids and materials. That man can work cheapest who, in addition these advantages, is least oppressed by governments and spoilers. If the American laborer cannot afford to work as cheap as laborers of other countries, the fact proves that he is more heavily taxed or liberally swindled than they; and government should apply itself to the redress of his wrongs, instead of trying to push customers into his shop with the poisoned spear of 'protective duties.'

4. Trade cannot be subjected to force, or lose its freedom, without acquiring a taint of extortion. Trade is like a balance; every jog and push it gets, infallibly vitiates its results. When left to itself, it serves buyer and seller alike; giving pound for pound, labor for labor, skill for skill, according to right. Its office is, not to enrich A at the expense of B, but to circulate wealth according to the varying wants and needs of its owners, and to make every gift of nature and every work of man bring forth the greatest possible amount of happiness.

PART II.

**THEORY OF A PERFECT CURRENCY AND A
PERFECT GOVERNMENT.**



ESSAY IV.

THE IDEA OF A PERFECT CURRENCY ; OR, HOW TO PERFECT MONEY AS AN INSTRUMENT AND DESTROY IT AS A POWER.—(Written in 1860.)

I WOULD fain reconcile the reader to the simplicity of my plan, before stating it. It has little that can captivate the Imagination ; that fickle purveyor to Reason, which too often usurps its master's place, and puts forth flaunting decisions of its own instead of obeying the higher powers. This age is so apt to prefer showy bubbles before modest solidities—so prone to set aside plain truth for something finer—that I may well doubt my ability to obtain its attention for a dish of unspiced demonstration, that, like a sea-voyage, may turn its stomach against every crudity it contains. But I will not despair. Most great things have small beginnings ; and great results are rather caused by patient, persistent action, than by gigantic powers. The sudden doing of great things is not required of man as a condition of his happiness, nor is he capacitated therefor by nature. He begins life an infant, ignorant of all things. He is driven about a few years by the winds of passion and the eddies of custom, and is removed to another world before he

gets a thorough understanding of this, taking his experience with him, and leaving his children to learn the same lessons over again for themselves. Of the ten commandments given for his guidance on Mount Sinai, only two require man to *do* any thing : all the rest merely tell him what *not* to do. Let no one despise my attempt, therefore, because the change in our currency which I propose, considered apart from its consequences, is but a slight one.

§ 1. The nature and use of Money.

The currency intended by the federal constitution would be perfect, were it relieved from two simple, yet fatal, faults. To remove the first of these, (the arbitrary and unintelligible nature of the monetary unit) we need only to adopt for its regulation the fitting *principle*, so that every coin in circulation shall have *a meaning*; and then, by putting its meaning on its face, render each piece of money a vehicle of truth or true ideas to the mind. Our present unit money is the 'dollar.' What is a dollar? What principle or meaning lies at the bottom of it? Why does it contain $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of the mixture termed standard silver, rather than a greater quantity, or a less? Why should men give their work, and things painfully born of work, for coins which no man can either eat, or drink, or wear? What is their charm, their occult virtue, that we should bow down to them and serve them, with as much zeal, and more constancy, than savage idolaters ever manifested in the worship of their fancied gods? Might not Paul say to us, as he said to

the men of Athens, "I perceive that ye are too superstitious?"

Strange as it may seem, no true and perfect analysis or definition of Money has ever yet been given. It is often called "the measure of *value*;" but who can tell, by the application of this measure, what is the value of a pleasant companion, or of a summer shower, or even of a cup of cold water? Value is as immeasurable in its very nature, as is love, or thought. This definition of Money, therefore, is not a definition, but a blunder.

Money is *the common measure of Labor-Cost*, and has a two-fold function. It is a Work-Tally, and, at the same time, a Work-Title. It is the *Admission-Ticket to the World's Treasure-House*, meant to show the amount of work or wealth which the bearer has sent thither, and to authorize his taking, from the wealth contributed by others, an equal amount for himself. The money in a man's purse shows, or ought to show, how much more labor and service he has done for others than others have done for him; and it denotes that an equal amount of labor and service is equitably due to him, from the great industrial partnership to which he contributed, and of which contributions the coins in his purse are the publicly acknowledged tallies and proofs. Thus is Money (in principle and design) a *Universal Language of Works*, which enables men to understand and interchange their various Doings, and throws all trades and nations into one great Industrial Family or Partnership. It is also a *Universal Reckoner or World's Leger*,

whereby each partner can, any where and instantaneously, prove and collect the exact amount of his just claims against the great firm.

This analysis of the nature of Money, shows that the importance of its uses can hardly be overestimated. Without some such reckoner, there could be no general distribution of labor; and, were there not a division of men into distinct trades—were every cultivator, for instance, obliged to begin with mining the ore whenever he needed a ploughshare or a hatchet—no man would be able to accomplish so much with a hundred days' work as he now can with one. Without a general Work-Tally, or Reckoner, we could have no other trade than barter: the latter, with only his own handiwork to trade with, could not buy his wife a new bonnet until he should find a milliner in want of a man's hat; nor could a piano-maker very well pay down for a pen-knife, without giving a piano worth a hundred knives in exchange. Therefore, but for the demoralization and knavery caused by a bad monetary system, the worst currency imaginable would be better than no currency at all.

‡ 2. What kind of Money is best, and the principle whereby the Currency should be regulated.

The essential function of Money being clearly known, we can easily decide what kind of instrument would best perform that function. All that can be required of any tally is, that it be fixed and honest; that it always tell the exact truth, to all persons, without any wavering or ambiguity. These results attained, that tally is best which is most convenient.

In all cases where properties or qualities are to be actually and not arbitrarily represented, the representation must itself possess the quality or virtue which it stands for. A *yard*, e. g., can only be represented by a yard-stick, or by some thing that is exactly a yard in length ;—though *number*, as the number of yards in a bale, may be perfectly represented by pebbles, grains, or any things that can be distinguished from other things, and accurately counted. A *pound* can only be represented by something that is a pound. In like manner, a true Work-Representative, or regulator of Work-Exchanges, must contain just so much Work as it represents. It must bear as fixed a relation to, and be as palpable a continent of, a certain fixed amount of labor, as the ton bears to forty half-hundreds ; and we might just as honestly use paper weights that weigh nothing, as paper work-tallies (or ‘money’) that cost nothing.

In estimating any labor-product, or work, there are three elements to be considered, viz., the amount of *time* expended upon it, the amount of *strength*, and the amount of *skill*. (Its *value*, depending on its adaptation to the wants or tastes of the person rating it, must vary therewith, and can have no fixed measure. To make value one of the elements of a general Work-Measure, (except the value inseparable from *accuracy* and *fitness*) would be to introduce an element of confusion. It would be like requiring a yard-stick to tell the *fineness* of cloth, or a grocer’s weights to tell the *flavor* of his butter.) Of these three legitimate elements, that of *time* is the most de-

monstrable, and therefore entitled to the first place. All ages and all nations have practically conceded to it the first place, by establishing the usage of hiring workmen by the day, or by some other determinate time. Adam Smith says—"What is usually the produce of two days' or two hours' labor, should be worth double of what is usually the produce of one day's or one hour's labor." If, therefore, for our present accidental and arbitrary money unit, we substitute one that shall represent a given amount of work, defined according to the length of time which its performance would occupy a man of average skill and strength—a unit that shall tell to all men exactly what it *cost* and what it *is*—we do not thereby run any hazard, nor adopt any unproved principle; but, on the contrary, we square our practice by a principle which, in some way, has been sanctioned by all men, whether learned or unlearned, in all ages. And this is the only change *in the currency itself*, that seems to me either necessary or desirable. *A decimal currency, having for its standard unit so much gold as one average day's work, by a man of average skill and strength, ordinarily produces*, would be the fairest Work-Tally and adjuster of trade-balances that I can imagine.* The Day and Ten-Day

* I suggest the following legends or inscriptions for the value-side of the Day-piece, viz. ; In the centre, ONE DAY'S WORK.—GOLD, 110grs. ALLOY, 10grs.—Around the circle, STANDARD UNIT OF LABOR-COST, BY LAW OF 18—. Fractions and multiples of the unit coin might merely proclaim, on the value-side, the date of the law whereby they were regulated, the quantity of bullion and of alloy

pieces; with their halves and quarters, might be of gold; the Hour piece, with its halves, quarters, and tenths, of silver; and the cent=36 seconds, of copper or bronze. A currency of this kind would as much excel the present, as a set of honestly-kept, intelligible account-books, surpass books in an unknown tongue. The circulating medium would no longer be a circulating mystery, and no sharper could use it to extract, from men ignorant of relative labor-costs, more work than he should give them in payment. It would make it as difficult for knaves to cheat in price, as they now find it to cheat in weight or in measure; for they would be equally certain to be soon found out.*

in the piece, and its officially-estimated labor-cost.—According to the standard here assumed, the coin representing one-fourth of a Day would contain 4 1-4 grains more than a gold dollar. At the present rate of silver, the Hour piece would contain 182 1-5 grains, say 51 cents; the Tenth Hour or Six Minute piece, about 18 grains, or 5 cents; while the copper representative of the 1000th part of the unit, (100th of an hour) would be about 25 grains lighter than our copper cent, or worth 8 1-2 mills.

* No kind of measure can be *perfect*, except in idea; but Gold is certainly fitter for the standard Work-Measure than any other labor-product, not only because it can be graduated to represent any amount desired, but because it is less affected by transportation-charges, and therefore has an almost unvarying labor-cost in all parts of the world. Though agricultural products have sometimes been adopted as a local cost-measure, they answer the purpose but poorly; their own cost being frequently affected by the weather, and constantly changed by every mile's cartage. In England, says MacLeod, "wheat has been known to vary from 120s. to 49s. a quarter (480lbs.) in four months."

There can be but one plausible objection to this change in our money-unit, viz. the difficulty of ascertaining the average amount of bullion which an able-bodied, industrious gold-miner can obtain in a day. This objection, however, can be made to bear with equal force against every good thing; for all excellence is difficult, and perfection is impossible to finite man. It is not so difficult to determine how much gold, on an average, a fair day's work will produce, as it once was to find out the average length of life remaining to a man of fifty; yet we now have life-tables which show this, about as accurately as our almanacs foretell the changes of the tide. It is far less difficult than it must be to ascertain the average yield per acre of all the wheat-fields in England; a task which, according to Parliamentary Reports, certain corn-dealers performed before harvest was over, with almost absolute precision, for many years. A rational gold-miner would work only where gold was to be found, and would average about ten hours a day. A commission, by visiting the principal gold regions, could easily collect all the data required. They might examine say 1000 of the more experienced miners, (the larger the number, the less the influence of exceptional cases upon the average) putting the time worked by each in one column, and the results in another; then, on adding up the two, and dividing the aggregate amount of gold by the whole number of days worked, the quotient would be the standard unit desired.—This simple process, (to be repeated whenever a revision should be necessary) would give us a

permanent currency and cost-measure, each coin of which would represent a certain known quantity of labor, about as truthfully as the French unit of length represents a ten-millionth part of a quadrant of the earth's meridian. This change, trivial as it may seem, would affect all nations, through all time. It would make the path of commercial justice plain to all men. It would mark a new era in government and political economy, and open a reign of righteousness. It would sweep off every arbitrary aristocracy or system of favoritism, and give all power to the nobility of genius and virtue. It would work the final downfall of Mammon, and emancipate the whole industrial world from the cheat and the oppressor.

To some, no doubt, this language will appear too strong; but when we consider how many thousand times the public Work-Tally is made use of every minute, and how wide is the difference between a true reckoning and a false, it is obvious that a change from wrong to right, from false to true, in the great Account Book of the human family, the great implement whereby the distribution of wealth is regulated, must produce results of inestimable value. If every circulating Work-Title both represented and *contained* a determinate quantity of human care and labor, (the larger tokens differing hardly a minute, the smaller hardly a second, from the exact truth) the current price of every merchantable commodity would naturally be, the labor-cost of producing, preserving, transporting, and vending it; prices would vary only as accidental causes or

improved processes might increase or lessen the labor-cost of the goods priced ; and, as to wages, there could be no material deviation from the gold-miner's daily average, without some good cause. Thus, if a man worked at a calling which required a longer apprenticeship or greater powers than the business of gold-mining, he might demand a corresponding increase of compensation, (and *vice versa*) beyond the mining standard ; but there could be no such monstrous outrages upon commercial equity, as every where prevail at present. To show the magnitude of these outrages under the existing currency, or the disproportion between the amount of gold commonly resultant from a day's work at a good gold-mine, and the amount given as the wages of a day's work in a British cotton-factory, the following facts will suffice. I have already shown by a quotation from the Price-Current, (see page 79) that a man at the Dundee Bleacheries gets only 2s. 6d = 14 grains fine gold, per day. Now an official report made in 1855, by six commissioners appointed by Gov. Hotham, of Victoria, to examine into the mining operations of that region, states, " that the usual rate of pay to a working miner at the different gold fields, ranged from 15s. to 30s. a day," = 84 to 168 grains fine gold. The Victoria Gazette of March 10, 1859, speaking of the Fraser River region, says, " the diggings were paying, as a general thing, from \$12 to \$14 per hand ; though some claims, noted as being very good, were yielding as high as four to five ounces per diem to the man. Our informant estimates that the placeres of the Fountain

and Pavilion were good for a steady yield of gold (by sluice washing) for two or three years, at as high an average as from \$8 to \$10 per working man." M'ulloch gives the wages of gold-miners in California, in 1853, as ranging from 14s. to 30s. a day. Capt. Marryatt, (see *Mountains and Molehills*, p. 275) after a general exploration of California, estimates the number of gold-miners, in 1851, at 140,000; average number of effective day's-work per man, 200; and average value of gold collected per day, \$3 50. or 15s.—According to these data, the average amount of gold produced by a day's work in California or in Australia, is not less than 110 grains. But a man working in a cotton-factory is made to give eight days' work for this amount of gold—*eight days' work for one*—his work, too, requiring the greater sacrifice of health and manhood, and an equal amount, at least, of skill! *

I will close this section with a Touchstone for Money, or a principle whereby the currency and government of a country may be infallibly tested. It is this: *When a day's work, or the product thereof, will readily command as many grains of bullion* (minus the cost of its transportation

* This discrepancy, be it noted, exists upon the supposition that the currency of England is free from paper adulterations: a just allowance for which would probably triple it. Had I taken the wages of agricultural labor (less than 9 grs. gold per day) for my comparison, the ratio would be, *twelve days' work for one*! Some of the Liecestershires stocking-weavers, it was recently proved in a libel-suit, can earn only 5s. to 7s. a week, clear of loom-hire, (i. e., 5 to 6 1-2 grains of gold daily) by working 15 hours per day!

from California) *as an equal amount of skill and labor will usually bring forth at the gold mines*, we may then be certain that there is no adulteration or falsification of the currency, no unjust taxation or extortion, no gross dishonesty either of the government or the people.

‡ 3. Money must not only be rationally constructed, but honestly used, or it will work evil instead of good.

It was intimated at the beginning of this essay, that our existing currency had *two* deadly faults; and having disposed of the first, we will now proceed to the second. It does not properly pertain to Money in itself, but results from a general practice of *selling Money on time*, which perverts it into a gambling-implement, and renders its purchasing-power as unstable as the price of a 'fancy stock' at the board of brokers. It is a fault, too, which Congress is literally, and I think rightfully, empowered to exterminate; for it cannot possibly 'fix the value' (or purchasing-power) of its coinage, so long as this abuse shall exist. That the practice referred to is an abuse—that money-debts, or sham sales of money by men having no money, affect the currency as stock-gambling affects stocks—is obvious. The practice is not only dishonest, but irrational. It is related of a broken horse-jockey that, in his zeal to promote trade, he stopped a horseman on the road, and challenged him to swap horses. "Swap horses!" said the traveller, "you have no horse." "True," replied the jockey, "but how *would* you swap, supposing that I had one?"—Surely, no good can come from giving to such hypothetical

transactions the sanction of public law. No man should be allowed, still less encouraged, *to sell what he does not own*. But every contractor of a money-debt—every seller of coin or bullion on time—commits this sin. He either sells non-existent money, or he sells the money in other people's pockets; for, if he really own the money he sells, he can deliver it at once, and so make an end of the matter. Indeed, the chief use of money is, *to obviate the necessity for debt*, by furnishing every man with a ready means of requiting, on the instant, every labor or service he may receive, whether it amount to tens of days, or only to the hundredth of an hour. I hold that *a perfect currency* would infallibly perform this use for every true citizen of the Republic of Trade; also, that no currency can attempt more than this without working injustice. It is not the office of money to procure service for those who do not serve others, any more than it is the office of baggage-checks to furnish the naked with trunks of clothing. All that can rightfully be required of a currency or monetary system is, 1, That it throw all the wealth, skill and energy of the Republic of Industry into a common stock: 2, That it enable each contributor to draw therefrom, of such things as he most needs or wishes, *exactly according to the amount of useful work he may have put in*.

§ 4. Credit.

The practicability of abolishing sales on credit, and of resolving all business into ready-money business, will at first be generally doubted, on

the ground that money is too scarce; in other words, that there are not true trade-counters enough to enable all hits to be tallied as fast as made. I contend, however, that a strict adherence to the currency proposed and the principles laid down in this essay, will enable the world to effect more exchanges with gold and silver money only, than it now does with specie and paper superadded. As abstinence from idolatry does not lessen worship, neither can the overthrow of *false credit*, the ceasing to trust in uncertainties and lies, prove detrimental to honest trust. Credit may exist very extensively, and facilitate the operations of trade and industry every where, without giving rise to a single money-debt, or to a speculation of any kind. I do not seek to abolish credit, but would base it on certainty or truth. Credit is a sacred prerogative of honesty, and should never be given to men who promise what they have not, or who utter what they know not. Whether we give credit to things false and uncertain, or withhold it from things stable and true, we equally sin against our own welfare and against right.

That a general reduction of trade to cash sales would reduce sales for a year or two, or until existing money-debts should be disposed of, is certain; not because of any inherent tendency in the ready-pay system to diminish trade, but because our departure from that system, and our habit of spending our money before we get it, make us moneyless in practice, no matter how much mortgaged or pre-spent money we receive. The habit of anticipating our means, of "eating

our calf in the cow's belly," like the habit of getting strength from strong drink, cannot be abandoned by those who have fallen into it, without some temporary suffering; yet this fact ought not to confirm us in our evil ways, but should induce us to abandon them at once, and to beware of the first wrong step hereafter. The modern Credit System, instead of enabling the world to do its business with less money than the Cash System, makes a new and geometrically-increasing requisition on the world's stock of money, (i. e., for the payment of Debts and Interest) which leaves less and less for legitimate Trade every year. This extra channel for money, (which, in its present form, is a new channel, the Bank of England having started in 1694, that of France in 1803, and that of the Netherlands in 1814) now wields dominion over nearly all the bullion extant; leaving Industry and Trade to fag along by *kiting*—by the use of money held on sufferance only—by settling their exchanges or trade-balances with borrowed counters. Thus have all the seeming miracles of Credit proved but costly cheats. It can solder an extra inch upon Trade's bar of gold to-day, provided it may cut two inches off the other end to-morrow; but this does not benefit Trade.

Should Congress prohibit or outlaw all time-sales of money—(no *delivery*, no contract)—and so put every coin extant at the command of the *current business*, exclusively and for ever, the present stock of gold and silver would more than satisfy the needs of trade; and, when men's debts should be cleared off, we should have more rea-

son to complain of the excess of gold than of scarcity. Under a perfect system of finance, the amount of work locked up in Debt-Preventers, alias Wealth-Tallies, alias Money, need not much exceed the amount locked up in weights and scale-beams : the proportion between a country's wealth and its money, should not be greatly different from that which exists between the cost of a rail-road, and the cost of its books, tickets and baggage-checks. As, after the establishment of the Cash System, there would be no time-sales or money-debts to be met, there could be no forced sales of property to meet them, no chance for hoarders to speculate on the necessities of debtors, and therefore less profit in hoarding money than in hoarding articles which, like liquors, improve by age. Any increase in the amount of business to be done, whether caused by increased supply or demand, would be met by a *quickenning of the circulation* rather than an additional coinage, as the grocer, when pressed by a multiplicity of customers, uses his weights the oftener, instead of lumbering his counter with more.

But it is unnecessary to argue a point that has been fully proved by experiment. The world's trade and industry went on quite as smoothly, if not as violently, before the discovery of America, as it has done since. No one can deny that the ancient cities and empires made a steady progress in wealth and commerce, so long as their people preferred truth to flattery, and the practice of righteousness to the gratification of appetite and passion. Yet the world's stock of gold

and silver in 1492, according to the highest estimate, was but \$200,000,000, while Mr. Jacobs sets it down at £33,342,000. All the business of the world was done with this amount for ages, without the *help* of a single bank of issue. The present stock of gold and silver in the world is forty times as great, being, according to the Banker's Magazine, no less than \$8,000,000,000 !—To assert that this vast sum is insufficient for the world's trade, is to say that we cannot do with forty dollars of specie, the trade which our ancestors conducted with one.

There are one or two other petty objections to the abandonment of the modern Credit System, which those who fancy that they profit by it will be apt to urge, and to which I will therefore give an answer. True, the advocates of a system so inherently false and knavish—a system which encourages men to sell money on paper when they have no money to deliver—a system which causes business men to lose more wealth by bad debts, as a general thing, than they can lay up for old age, and under which, according to experienced merchants, 97 or 98 per cent. of our business men die poor—a system under which more than \$400,000,000 were transferred from producers to bankrupts, by a special bankrupt law, in a single year—the advocates of *such* a system, and the endorsers of wholesale robbery like this, have no right to strain at a gnat, or to groan over the petty inconveniences which, from a point of view so distant as theirs, may *seem* to lie in the path of honesty. But to the point. The first of these anticipated objections is, that if we

abolish the Credit System, we shall incapacitate men of small means from carrying on business for themselves, and make all those who have skill without money mere underlings to a few great capitalists. I reply, the Credit System has established this state of things already. It grows worse, too, under that system, every year; the amount of capital requisite for a man to start in business now, being three or four times as great as was needed in the presidency of Jefferson, when the Credit System was comparatively weak and small. The system prevents men every way fit to manage a shop of their own from opening one, unless they be rich enough to *give* credit to customers, and thus subordinates the mere *master of his trade*, every where, to interlopers and speculators who can outdo him in *giving credit*.

The modern Credit System, let me say here, defeats the very object for which Money was instituted; and it is idle to dream of a Perfect Currency, or of an approximation thereto, so long as the Credit System shall prevail. The great end of Money is, to divide the sheep from the goats, the producers from the drones, and protect the work or property of the former from the pillage of the latter. While our currency shall permit any non-contributor to the world's stock of goods to put on the airs and wield the prerogatives of a stockholder, it can be no more effective, as a safeguard of virtuous industry, than a false key in the hands of a burglar. The lending of money, or the crediting of money or work to a man before he has earned it, can no more be justified on

principle, than could the tallying a point to a billiard-player in anticipation, or the lending of rail-road tickets by a conductor to his passengers. Such practices, I admit, may be very convenient for the dishonest and the lazy, but they are very unjust.

‡ 5. How Trade may be opened to small capitalists, and be active, without any money-debts, or any hazard to the merchant.

The enabling of prudent and skilful workmen to conduct business on their own account, so soon and to such extent as their doing so should be intrinsically right, might be accomplished, I think, without creating a single money-debt, by legalizing a system of *Conditional Sales* in place of the present Credit System. The change proposed might be effected by a simple law, permitting the owners of lands, ships, and large values generally, to make contingent sales thereof, and give possession to the contingent buyer, without impairing their right of possession and ownership should the contingent buyer fail to keep the conditions upon which his right of possession was originally based. *E. g.*—Suppose A to sell his shop and tools, or his farm, to B, at the labor-cost thereof—say 500 days' work—100 down, and the residue in four equal annual payments; giving B immediate *possession*, but retaining his *ownership* until fully paid for it by B. This done, B becomes *owner* instead of *possessor*: but if B fail to meet either payment at the time stipulated, A might then command B to sell his contingent right, within three days, to some party ready to perform its conditions;—in default whereof, A

should sell his right of ownership at public auction to the highest bidder within six days; the successful bidder to take the property; A to take so much of the money given by the bidder as the back payments amount to; and B to receive the residue. While thus making the 'betterments' of landholders readily convertible, and facilitating the acquisition of needed real estate by cultivators and wealth-producers of every kind, I would allow no payments for the imaginary thing or nothing termed *interest*, and would prohibit *landlordism*, or the using of God's land by non-producers and non-occupants for purposes of extortion, under penalty of confiscation. The law ought not to recognize the right of ownership in any man who practically denies the prior ownership of God, by neglecting an owner's *duties* and by putting God's work to a mean and dishonest use. If the inheritor of a farm or a house do not want it for himself, and cannot personally cultivate, or at least oversee, the field that has come to him, let him sell it to some one who needs it, and who will discharge an owner's duty. Let him have no power to hold any human being as *his tributary*, or tenant. The right of the landholder to *hire* men is undoubted; the right to hold men as industrial wards, or personal dependants, or 'slaves,' may exist in certain cases; but the right of a man to reap fields that he does not even oversee—to take any *means of industry* provided by an impartial God for all men, for the purpose of making some child of industry a vassal and a prey—such 'right' is the vilest of wrongs, and its exercise should be punished as severely,

at the very least, as the less impudent sin of stealing.* (The right of keepers of taverns and boarding-houses to charge for room-wear and furniture-wear as well as for cleaning, care and service; the right of the owners of shops with steam-power attached, to charge for shop-wear and power consumed; the right of minors and female heirs to have their land managed for them by executors and guardians;—all such rights ought evermore to be respected and protected.)

* The influence of Habit, in matters of life and practice, is so much stronger than that of Reason, that a denial of the right to draw increase, or to practice usury, may cause loud outcries, as if usury were a natural right of the wealthy. But when did nature ever sanction that principle? Do animals ever pay interest to their kind? Does not nature require every living creature to gather its own food by its own work, from the time it is cast off by its parents to the day of its death? By what right can a man take more seats or more dishes at nature's feast than he needs, and then exact tribute from the weaklings he has crowded away, under penalty of death by starvation? Nature has given all, save the sick or the idiotic, the power of self-support, and made the exercise of that power (i. e. personal industry) man's first duty; a duty which he must perform, before he can have a solid foundation for any other virtue. As to making due provision for old age, that can be done without resorting to usury or to stealing. When men live as they ought, age seldom takes away their power of self-support. I have known Indians to possess it fully when over a hundred years old; and God confers no good upon them that we might not obtain by practising the same virtues. Let all be released from usury, and all could easily make full provision for old age; while few could ruin and debauch their own children by extravagant accumulation, as is so often done at present.

As to 'money lying idle,' where is the harm, any more

Some may think the rule laid down, in the case just supposed, too stringent, and hold that more time should be given to a defaulter. But all experience proves that, in matters of justice, nothing is so dangerous as the laxity of good nature. A, the seller, can be as charitable to B as he may please, and waive his rights to his own property if he choose; but THE LAW has no right to be charitable at A's expense. The law, like a balance, prefers honesty to benevolence,

than in flour 'lying idle' in one's pantry, or in a baggage-check 'lying idle' till *the owner* wants his baggage?

The prohibition of usury would lead capitalists to come in as partners, with their wealth and their business talent, into all wise undertakings. The prohibition of money-debts, instead of destroying or paralyzing money, would only keep it from the control of land-sharks and speculators, and cause it to move under the direction and responsibility of its OWNERS. Neither measure would prevent ships, factories, rail-roads, nor farms even, from being held and managed by partners or companies, nor restrain the distribution of earnings among such joint-owners according to their respective rights. Nor would the abolition of land-usury or land-speculation prohibit the selling of pasture any more than of hay, nor make the sale of partial or unperfected titles any more illegal than at present. A man who should have paid say 100 days' work toward a farm, with the privilege of perfecting his title by farther payments, would have as good a right to sell his embryo title for what it *was*, whenever a buyer should offer, as to sell a perfected title. A system of papers and records might be devised, that would make transfers of land-titles, complete or incomplete, as cheap and simple as the process of selling goods in bond. Even our 'tenant-houses' might be parceled out among independent owners under the proposed method, it being as practicable to *sell* a house by the room and bed-room as to *let* it by the room and bed-room; and justice for-

and only aims to give to every one *his own*, on the instant, without fear or favor. If B have made a silly bargain, the sooner it is wound up the sooner is he extricated, and the better for him. If he be too bad an economist, or too poor a workman, or too lazy, to be able to pay 100 days' work in a year to those who have done 500 days' work for him, and built him a work-shop, then let him sell his beginning of a right to the shop to somebody who *can* pay for it, and let him

bidding that the builders of those nuisances should hold them after they have been fully paid for building them, or be paid the cost of building more than once

The following simple rules of trade, it seems to me, might suffice for the regulation of all cases whatsoever :

1. Every self-governed man is the owner of all the work he does, and therefore entitled to fix the conditions upon which others may, if they choose, take the same ; they having an equal right to refuse his price, and to do such work for themselves, or to buy elsewhere, if they please.
2. No person can claim to himself payment or wages for any work that was not done by him, nor sold or given to him by the true owner ; and, for a man to claim pay or 'rent' for God's work, is to rob God in the hope of cheating man.
3. No person can take payment for his work or work-product from another and yet retain the title in himself ; *payment* being the receipt of so much work for work given as was contained in the thing given. Nor can the seller claim an extra price on account of the ignorance or the necessity of the buyer—personal infirmities, which the selling party had no right to charge for, and which already belonged to the party buying.
4. No person can claim to be paid the labor-cost of real estate twice over, or of money twice over, any more than a tailor can charge twice for a coat, or than a day-laborer whose wages have been paid him can continue to claim payment.

return to his journey-work for a year or two longer. If his inability be caused by sickness or by accident, even that cannot give him a right to keep A's shop without paying for it, and he ought not to harbor a wish so dishonest. The office of the law is, to protect his rights, not to gratify his wishes. If it protect him against all charges for usury and increase; if it do not require him to give A a single day's work, except for an equal day's work that he has freely bought from him; if it grant him a fair chance to receive to himself the utmost that any one will give, both for the money he paid to A in the beginning, and for any 'betterments' that he may have made; he should regard the law as a friend, whose justice is one with God's justice, and whose power has gratuitously redeemed him from the curse of *doing wrong*.

Persons whose power of analysis is feeble, or pettifoggers presuming on such feebleness in others, may ask wherein the above scheme is essentially different from the practice of securing money-debts by bond and mortgage? I reply, 1, in *veracity*: 2, in offering *no loophole for speculation*. In the case supposed, neither A nor B promise any thing, or assume any power, that is not fully and certainly *his*. A, having the title to a shop or a farm, offers it to B on certain conditions. If B accept and fulfil those conditions, he accepts the title also: if not, then A either retains it, or takes his price for it from the buyer of B's 'betterments,' as the case may be. There is no Debt incurred by either party, unless A's obligation to convey his title on re-

ceiving his price may be called a Debt. But the giving a bond and mortgage, on the contrary, is, in essence, *a sale of money on time by one who merely hopes to have the money when the time comes round*; and whose title, moreover, to the land which he so gravely pledges, is generally but a sham, the *real* owner all the while being the very mortgagee to whom he affects to grant it. The essential difference between the two systems, therefore, is that which exists between a truth and an untruth.

Let us now turn our attention to the commercial world in general, and see if Money-Debts cannot be dispensed with in its transactions.—They can. They are but hindrances instead of helps to commerce. (Of course, we do not account the liability of an agent or a cash-clerk to his principal as a money-debt, nor is the trust which men put in the honesty and fidelity of their assistants any part of the system to be abolished—the artificial Credit System.) In the world of trade, as elsewhere, we have but to start right in order to come out right. Whenever Reason shall have dominion over the world of trade, and God's Justice shall supersede man's folly, that world will recognize no Capitalist save the Producer or Capital-Creator; no Creditor save the Doer of Good Works; no Debt save the obligation "to love one another."

The conduct of the world's trade—the whole business of Selling—ought to be confided to the class of professional traders, or *merchants*. Except in the case of men who work to order, (as the architect, or the tailor) it is as poor economy

for the Producer to sell his work in person, as it would be for the blacksmith to make his own shoes. Yet the Merchant, in order to be wholly free from bad influences and injurious suspicions, must occupy his true place, and stand on the right footing. The professional agent ought not to be more than an agent. The Merchant ought to be the Producer's Salesman and Cash-Clerk merely, receiving a just commission on his sales, and having no more interest in the goods he offers than a judge in the causes tried before him. Standing on this ground, he would require no other capital than honesty, business knowledge, and a good warehouse or depositary. As Cash-Clerk to the consignor, he would seldom need to advance even the freight from his own purse. He would be alike free from the risks and the crime of Forestalling or Speculation. Though his business should amount to a million a year, it could not involve him in a single Money-Debt nor subject him to a cent of loss. Should any customer ask him for *credit*—ask him to betray his trust and put the property of any principal to the least hazard—the proposition would either be regarded as an insult to the merchant's integrity, or as damning evidence against that of the proposer.

Thus we see that there is no necessity, in the nature of things, for a single Commercial Debt; and that all the costly and complex machinery of the artificial Credit System, is but an obstacle in the great highway of commerce—a fungous if not a cancerous growth upon the body of legitimate trade.

We will next consider the case of the Producing Interest—the great *capitalist-class* under the law of nature, though almost a pauper-class under the knavish legislation of man. How can the poor farmers cultivate their fields without drawing on their anticipated harvests? How can the greater part of our manufacturers and mechanics get stock, or produce any thing, if they must pay down for every thing they use, and await the consumer's purchase of their products before any money can be received? This is the last great difficulty that can be found. It has a formidable look. Can it be obviated?

Certainly, there can be no insuperable difficulty in the way of right; no necessary crimes or impossible duties. It is contrary to the plan of the universe for men to reap before they sow. God's system is any thing but a Credit System. We may be sure, therefore, that every man's true work can be done without resorting to any scheme of artificial credit; not only the work of the merchant, but that of the farmer and the manufacturer also. There is always an *honest course* in regard to every difficulty; and the honest course is always open, if not gratifying, even to a little child. To discover *that*, therefore, is to solve the problem before us.

By what *right* can any Producer expect others to give him *their* work, or the wages thereof, before he is ready to give them *his*? If I serve nobody, I establish no claim to service against any one. If I produce a thing that nobody wants, ought not I, and I alone, to bear the loss? And the same principle which forbids me to exact

pay for work that is *never* wanted or bought, forbids me to expect pay from any one *before* he wants my work and gets it. Let the Producer, therefore, take heed what he does, for he cannot escape the responsibilities of his position, nor honestly shuffle off the consequences of his stupidity upon any one else. Let him not *try* to. Let him rather go to the poor-house. Let him rather perish.

When we approach the problem in this spirit of determined truthfulness, the clouds soon break away, and its solution becomes easy. We see that, in abolishing Money-Debts and Paper Money, we do not abolish, or in the least restrict, paper *evidences of title* to money, or to any other property, in the hands of a merchant or custodian; which *TITLES* may *honestly* answer all uses or ends of Money-Debts, Bank Notes, and Bank Checks also. The following form will serve to illustrate the subject:

[Negotiable Wealth-Title, or Owner's Draft against Goods in Store.]

PATERSON, Aug. 10, 1859.

Peter Smith, 12 Cedar-st. New-York.

Pay to John Doe, or order, Ten Days' Work, out of five cases Calico, marked R R 1 to 5, or out of proceeds thereof.

JOHN DOE.

[Merchant's Acceptance of the above.]

First Lien. Registered, Aug. 10, book A, page 90.

PETER SMITH.

The owner of this draft could either take his pay at once in the goods drawn against, or wait until the merchant should obtain sufficient cash by sales to pay it.

The acceptor would be liable only for the truth of his own statements, formal or implied, and for the faithful execution of the accepted order.—Should he appropriate any goods or money in his custody to his own use, or fail to keep the same honestly for the owner and his assigns, the penalty ought to be twice as heavy as the penalty for simple stealing, or theft unaccompanied with treachery. The issuing of false tokens, or drafts against non-existent goods, as it would be a double crime, (lying and theft united) ought to receive a double punishment also.

By means of drafts like the above, each contributor to a labor-product, of any kind, could receive a negotiable title thereto, according to the extent of his interest, so soon as the finisher should get such labor-product into a marketable shape. *E. g.*, the owner of a cloth-factory could give a draft against the finished cloth, so soon as the merchant should receive it, to the wool-grower, and to every other contributor or assistant, according to the order or precedence of their respective contributions; the residuary title remaining his. The relationship of the manufacturer to the furnisher of his raw material would be, not that of a money-ower, but of a man helping the producer of raw material to fit it for the consumer, or to make it convertible. The merchant, in like manner, would hold the relationship of *helper* (not debtor) to all the producers who should help to stock his store; while he would be the *helper* of the consumers also, so far as he should minister to their wants.

Under the above method of business, it is cer-

tain that no farmer, no producer of raw material, would require any *more* capital than he now does, nor would he generally require more time either to convert his work into money, aside from the convenience and ready convertibility of his manufacturer's draft against the finished goods.—The master manufacturer would require far *less* capital than at present; or, however large his business, little more than his workshop and machinery. There would be a healthful competition among men of the same trade, without any antagonism between different trades. Money would cease to be a power, and wealth would be valued only as a means of rational enjoyment. Capital (the work of yesterday) would serve Labor (the worker of to-day) without oppressing it, while Labor would equally serve or advantage Capital, by better fitting it to serve mankind.

As a test for Circulating Paper of every kind, I offer this rule:—Paper that speaks the exact truth, and truth only, can work no harm to the public, or to any honest man; while any paper or token that excites false hopes, or insinuates a lie, injures all who fail to treat it according to its demerits, or who give it more confidence than a lie deserves.

Another test for any trade-system or trade-implement is, to ask if it can excite or foster any antagonism among classes. True wealth and wealth-exchange can no more cause a social jar, than true love can breed quarrels among the angels.

¶ 6. The Establishment of a Perfect Currency not only possible and desirable, but probable also.

We have thus far demonstrated two very important points, viz. 1, That no currency can be perfect, or even honest, unless all the coins or work-tallies which enter into it, both represent and contain a fixed and known amount of work, fully equal to the amount which law or common sufferance permits it to command. 2, That as the most perfect weights give false results when used with an unfair or imperfect balance, so the best coinage conceivable cannot mete out pecuniary justice while knaves and extortioners are permitted to load a people's labor-products with unjust charges, or to get possession and control of current work-tallies without giving genuine and useful work therefor. *E. g.*—so long as 'ground-rent,' or 'interest,' or any thing save *effective work*, shall enter into the price of wheat, the wheat-buyer must get less wheat than he ought for his money, no matter how exact the coins used in the purchase may be; for it is quite as essential to the just working of money, that nothing but labor or genuine money-worth should *command* it, as it is that the amount of work in each piece should be well defined and real. . . . We have also seen that there is no intrinsic difficulty in the way, either of forming just coins or measures of labor-cost, or in preventing the dishonest use of money;—*i. e.*, that a Perfect Currency is *possible*. But neither the possibility of a measure, nor its desirableness, nor both united, can ensure its reduction to practice: if they could, all men would be honest. Therefore, the

probabilities of the establishment of a Perfect Currency require to be considered also.

As the establishment of a Perfect Currency implies the reign of Perfect Justice throughout the whole commercial world; as the reign of Perfect Justice implies the rectification of all injustice, and the utter demolition of "the kingdom of this world;" as that kingdom has not only fleets and armies to sustain it, but falsities and Pharisaisms of all sorts, both in church and state, while even those who suffer most by its oppressions do practically uphold it by their vices and their follies; as no regards for right, or for the welfare of the just, can penetrate the chiefs and rulers of that kingdom, to prevent them from warring against right and betraying it, hereafter as heretofore; as the infantile nature and shrivelled estate of Human Honesty render it, in public estimation if not in fact, unfit to cope with a foe so artful and dreadful as Mammon;—in view of all these things—the greatness of the work, the multitude of its opponents, and the feebleness and lukewarmness of its friends—we may well expect doubts of its accomplishment to arise, even among its well-wishers.

Thus far, our habit-governed world has adopted but few if any considerable improvements, except as it has been entrapped into them through ignorance of their nature, or forced into them through necessity. Nothing short of necessity can establish the change we advocate. So much we must concede to its opponents, for such is the fact; and *we* can gain nothing by concealment or by lying.

What led to the invention and adoption of the various labor-saving machines of modern times? I answer, the unmuzzling or release of the great *labor-taxing* machine of the usurer, some three centuries ago; a machine that had long been obstructed, though not destroyed, by Feudalism and Christianity. Henry VIII. commenced that policy in England which has ultimated in our present Funding and Banking Systems; a policy which practically regards the wealth-producer as free game for the money-holder and speculator as well as the land-holder; a policy which, in its progress, withdrew from the laborer his ancient hold on the soil and the means of industry, while loading him with ever-growing burdens, thus compelling him to bring a giant to his help, and to cheapen the labor-cost of production by the aid of steam as governments and usurers increased the money-cost of production by their extortions. England would never have known the spinning-jenny had her modern policy, like her ancient, allowed the laborer three full meals a day, and a hundred holidays or more a year.

Now, the time draws near when this same Necessity must force upon the world a Perfect Currency also. The voracity of usury, and the magnitude of its requisitions upon trade and industry, increase every year, and are governed by the law of geometrical progression. Usury may keep up its ruin-spreading game by the aid of paper money for a time, but not always. Society must soon become too far demoralized and impoverished to permit the continuance of Paper Credit on a great scale, when the banks will not

dare to trust individuals, or governments, or each other, and the public will not dare to trust the banks. Then a New System will be inevitable. No new system can be established unless it shall command the public confidence. No system can pass the ordeal of universal suspicion, and command the public confidence, that is tainted with a single fundamental cheat or lie.

To most reasoners, the above demonstration will be sufficient, especially when taken in connection with the facts and principles set forth in Essay I. Should any reader require a *scriptural* demonstration to overcome his unbelief, I give him this:

Twenty-four centuries ago, the prime minister of Babylon, the greatest empire then extant, had the faculty of entrancement, and of communion with wise and holy spirits. He was thus enabled to receive and write down a remarkable summary of the world's whole political future. All the great changes which he predicted have since become history, except the last, viz., *the establishment of absolute Justice (or righteousness) here on earth, and the overthrow of all powers and systems that conflict with Justice*. It seems impossible that any spirit should have been able to thus prefigure the course of empire correctly, for so long a period, (starting with Babylon—then noting the rise of the Medes and Persians—then the Grecian empire—then the Roman—then the ten kingdoms of western Europe—then the kingdom of Righteousness) unless he understood the law which governs man's political progress. In that case, Daniel's prediction of a

reign on earth of Eternal Justice, (to commence 1260 years from the rise of a subtle power, which some think was Popery, and some think was Mahometanism) must be as reliable as an astronomer's prediction of an eclipse.

I may here say without impropriety; that the conclusion above deduced from the progressive nature of usury, was arrived at before I knew of Daniel's prediction; and that Scott, fixing the year 606 as the birth-year of both the Papal and the Mahometan powers, infers that the last act of that prophecy will open about 1260 years thereafter. My own firm conviction is, that the great change predicted must soon begin; though I have little hope that it will come unresisted. On the contrary, the first clash of the opposite systems or powers must shake the whole earth, and produce a time of trouble, "such as never was since nations began even until that time." Mammon will summon all his pensioners, all his parasites, all betrayers of right, and his slaves of every sort, to the battle. They may darken the heavens with their lies, and crimson the earth with their cruelties; but some angel-guided lover of Right will utter God's truth so calmly and clearly as to reach the intellects of all without inflaming the passions of any; God's truth, thus imparted, will prove the vehicle of God's power; and the power of Mammon will vanish before it like night before the sun.

It may seem, at the first view, impossible that the Landed Aristocracy should be speedily and utterly subverted by any power whatsoever—an aristocracy which, for centuries, has stood firm

as the earth it governed. But, when the landlord tribe obtained a release from their feudal duties, as they all did long since, they destroyed the moral life of every feudal *right*. Their system now is but a dead tree; huge, yet powerless. It stands apparently firm thus far, because as yet no solid force has been arrayed against it. But if the landed aristocracy had been subjected to the same fierce trial as the system of Negro Slavery at the south, where would it be now?—Had our negro-holding states, at the time that England adopted the policy of negro emancipation from labor, instituted and steadily pursued a plan for *the abolition of Usury, Speculation and Increase*; had they, while fully protecting the right of cultivators and industrial leaders to all the land they might cultivate or personally superintend, decreed the holding of lands for usurious purposes (i. e., the exaction of ground-rent or private tribute) to be ‘piracy’; had they arrayed their whole power of legislation against every form of usury and increase, every device whereby capital is enabled to prey upon labor, or to take from poverty more work or wealth than it gives to poverty in return; had they enacted laws vitiating the holder’s title to every labor-product that was wholly or in part acquired by speculation, making all such goods ‘free’ to any citizen who might choose to take them, and subjecting their speculator claimants to the same indignities and disabilities which Massachusetts visits upon the claimants of fugitive slaves; had their churches simultaneously and incessantly thundered the scriptural denunciations of usury

and increase into all men's ears, making the practice of that sin, even where it might be legalized, a ground for the withdrawal of all Christian communion and fellowship ; had their citizens every where formed themselves into Anti-Usury Societies, and sent forth a stream of tracts and agitators into Great Britain and the northern states, to excite the payers of ground-rent and interest to sedition ; had they made all men reflect, that while the minimum of the ' slave's ' wages, even in time of sickness, is never less than a home-spot and the necessaries of life for himself and his children, many a white man's maximum, when in full strength, is but five grains of gold for ten hours' work, out of which he must pay for his den-rent, and for every human necessary except water, air and day-light ;—had the landed aristocracy, and the whole speculating interest, been boldly and systematically assailed by these methods—assailed with all the weapons that have been brought to bear against the subordination of African savages to their tamers and trainers—who can doubt what the result would have been ? Who can doubt that every ' noble ' landlord in England, and every untitled usurer also, whether there or here, should he venture to put forth his claim to rent, tribute or increase, against any living white man, would be worse mobbed than slave-holders now are in Boston, when they claim a property in the runaways whom they have partially rescued from vagabondage and taught to work ? Who can doubt that the whole Landed Aristocracy, with all its friends, parasites and derivatives, would have utterly crum-

bled to pieces, in a far shorter time than has elapsed since the Anti-Slavery Agitation was begun?*

But I am devoting more words to the *probability* of a Perfect Currency than I ought. Those who have eyes to see, do not need an argument to convince them. Those who lack eyes to see, can learn only in the narrow and costly school of personal experience.

* While speaking with due severity of the entire usury system, from its lowest roots to its highest branches, I do not presume to condemn any special class for perpetuating or permitting its existence. Until I shall have openly withdrawn my own submission, I may assume that it only exists through my fault, and act accordingly. The truth is, however, that as "it takes two to make a bargain," so it takes two persons or two classes (active and passive) to maintain any social wrong; neither of whom should bear the whole blame, nor seek to throw an undue share upon the other. If the receiver be as bad as the thief, he who encourages a lie or an extortion by acquiescence, is as bad as the masculine sinner.

Neither do I regard 'the poor' as special sufferers nor 'the rich' as special gainers by usury, whether of land or of money. Every rich man, with his family, is more or less corrupted in mind and body by the power of consuming unearned wealth and of victimizing laborious poverty. Those are most to be pitied under the prevalent system, who receive from it most injury to their industrial and moral powers.

I have employed the word *usury* throughout my work in its full and proper sense, and deem it applicable to all charges for 'leave to toil,' or for access to the natural means of life and industry. The more restricted meaning which lawyers have sought to give it for the last century or two, is a mere device for redeeming '*interest*' from its ancient infamy.

§ 7. Of Rights in general, and Rights of Property in particular.

If our present imperfect Trade-System and Currency must soon give place to a Perfect Currency, the question naturally arises, how shall we prepare ourselves and the world for a change so great?—a change which must unsettle all established modes of action, and confound old landmarks, and “make all things new.”

I answer, by enlarging and perfecting our ideas of Right; by cultivating the art of Doing Right; by making Righteousness or Religion an exact science, and embodying it in a life of perfect innocence and justice. All this can be aimed at instantly, and done in time.

To those who may approve this policy, the following hints will be useful, viz. :

1. The *love* of Right is an essential pre-requisite to a clear understanding of Right. No man can reason justly concerning the truths he is practically at war against, or the wrongs he is bent on committing.

2. Right cannot, any more than beauty, be determined by mere reasoning. The Reason and the Moral Sense or Conscience must both be consulted, and each must confirm the verdict of the other, before any decision of a question of Right can be deemed infallible and final.

3. As all invented facts are lies, so all created or artificial ‘rights’ are wrongs; and none the less so because hierarchies or governments may be the inventors. Even the clearest Right becomes a False Right when it is carried too far, or when its exercise ceases to be sustained by Justice and tempered by Humanity.

4. As the first step toward true religion is the abandonment of idolatry, or the having no other 'god' before God, so the first step toward Righteousness is the discarding of all False Rights.

5. False Rights may be known by their tendency to build up aristocracies or arbitrary distinctions among men; or, to make men regard each other not as the children of a common Father, but as high and low—as hated exacters of tribute on the one hand, and despised payers of tribute on the other.

6. 'Abstract rights' are abstract nonsense—as worthless as an adjective without a substantive. Rights are necessarily relative, specific and conditional, the same as the points of the compass or the powers of numerals. To reduce all Rights to one dead level, is to rob all men of all Rights whatsoever: it is like giving infinite space to each man for his homestead, and so leaving him without a real home any where. Hence the term Equal Rights is not to be understood too literally: it only implies that all men are 'equally,' because perfectly, entitled to *their own*, be it good or bad, much or little—that all are to be weighed in an equal balance, not that all weigh the same.

7. Nothing can be truly right, unless it be subordinate or subservient to a higher Right or a nobler Love than it can claim for itself: *i. e.*, all Right points to a Perfect Righteousness, as all gravitation points to a Centre of Gravity.—Hence our Physical Rights lose their sacredness and reality, unless subordinated to our intellectual or our moral nature, and unless that be in

harmony with Truth and Moral Right. Who can doubt that the Physical Rights of a Socrates surpass those of a murderer?—or that the hanging of Washington would have been more against Right than the hanging of Arnold?

8. Freedom being *exemption from things that clash with one's loves or desires*, a man's Right to Freedom depends upon the honesty and nobleness of his desires. So far as Freedom is the power to be dishonest, or to be lazy, it is rather a Wrong than a Right. To be truly Free, or truly entitled to Freedom, a man must free his heart from evil desires and his life from evil actions; nor can all the powers of earth and hell enslave any one who may choose to free himself in this way.

(As to the forcing of genuine Freedom by impertinent meddling upon semi-brutes who lack the essential elements of Freedom, one might as well try to force the blessing of Silence upon a mob by his bawling. The utmost that any man can do for 'the cause of Freedom' is, to use his own aright and let other men's alone.)

9. Among the rights of genuine superiority is *the Right of Mastery*—the right to teach and command—a right always graduated according to the nature and extent of the superiority which may exist at the time, being infinite in God, but scarcely appreciable where the superiority is slight. When rightly exercised, this Right is as beneficial to the subject as the master: through its normal operation, weak minds can become co-workers with men of genius, and enter into the glories of a Michael Angelo or a Napoleon;

while its usurped exercise by fools and tyrants, as when Honest Industry is ruled over by a 'Holy Alliance' of public spoilers, at once corrupts and intoxicates the tyrant and debases his dupe or his victim.

(The true superior never imposes his guidance upon those who do not palpably need it, and never willingly upon those who do not appreciate and desire it. But quacks employ both force and flattery for the subjugation of the feeble, and so crowd themselves into the places of master-minds for purposes of plunder. *The disloyalty of the weak to their genuine superiors, is the cause of all their unhappiness and slavery.*)

10. As prostitution both hinders and disgraces love—as hypocrisy debases religion—so are False Rights the bane of all Righteousness; and False Rights of Dominion and of Property are the great destroyers of Just Government and of True Ownership, or of their sacredness in the eyes of men. He who permits mere Impudence to rob him of his right to the soil, can hardly be expected to abstain from robbing the orchard or the barn of his neighbor; and no man can be crowded out of his true place, without becoming a trespasser upon some place not his own.

One great cause of the weakness of the Right of Property among us, or of the confusion of ideas so prevalent concerning it, is, the general confounding of the 'divine right' of *Ownership* with the secondary and derivative right of *Possession* or *Use*. The Right of Ownership may be characterized as *the Maker's Right*, or the right

derived from creation. It indissolubly and eternally connects the voluntary and rational Maker or Doer of a thing with the thing made or done. It is the foundation of God's Right to the universe; and it does not lose its divineness, even when it connects the fool with his folly, or the criminal with his crime. It is a Right so fixed, so sacred, so essential to all Righteousness and Order, that God himself cannot change or destroy it in any case whatsoever; lying, or the violation of truth—a thing so easy to man—being impossible with a Being whose Love of Right is infinite, and whose Power is as superior to all finite powers as the sun to a ray of sunshine. And if God cannot alienate the universe, still less can man escape the Ownership of any work that is his. Milton can never cease to be as much the Owner as he was the author of *Comus*; though any man, by paying the printer for a copy, can establish a Possessory Right or Right of Use as long as his copy shall last. I confine myself to a single illustration, but the rule has no exceptions, and the principle is universal.

Let us now turn to the Right of Possession or Usufruct. It differs from the Right of Ownership in many respects. It may be general or personal, fixed or fleeting, according to circumstances and contingencies. It may be restricted to a single individual, or, as in the case of the soil, it may be conferred on all the living for all time. It can be bought and sold, accepted and rejected, withheld and given. It can open new heavens to the angels, and it can endow vermin with heaps of rubbish. Now it may be a sacred Right re-

spected by the highest powers, and now little more than a physical fact, with which Right has no obvious connection. In one respect, however, or with one order of minds, it is stronger than the Right of Ownership, viz., it appeals to the animal senses, and cannot be invaded without their cognizance; while the Right of Ownership can only be spiritually discerned, and can be upheld only by spiritual potencies and protectors.

Possession or Usufruct being the occupancy of a thing through its owner's hospitality or bounty, the Right of Possession ceases to exist when the possessor forgets the owner, or disregards the owner's reserved rights and his intent. The possessor is always morally bound to promote the cardinal object of the maker and owner, viz., *the increase of happiness*; and the happiness procured must be such as the owner can enter into by sympathy. Even the fullest cash-payment for a work of man (God never sells his work for money) does not morally entitle the buyer to destroy it. He is morally bound to put it to a Right Use in all cases. Had the first buyer of *Paradise Lost* any right to destroy the manuscript, and thus partially rob the world of Milton and Milton of the world? Has the buyer of a sword or a pistol, things designed for the repression of brute violence, the smallest right to convert either weapon into an instrument of aggression? Can he even make the attempt without forfeiting his Possessory Right, no matter how perfect it might have been before? A thousand similar illustrations of this law might be

added ; but, suffice it to say, that *the Right of Possession is nothing more, in any case, than the right of doing good with (or to) the thing possessed.*

It is obvious that, but for the confounding of these essentially different rights in the popular mind—but for men's forgetting that God, so far as the soil is concerned, confers the Right of Possession upon all and the Right of Ownership upon none—no such thing as a Landed Aristocracy could ever have arisen ; and, had we never known nor submitted to Usury in its primitive form, we should have escaped every derivative imposition also, with all the vice, degradation and poverty that Usury has caused. Hence the rectification of this cardinal error may be deemed the first step toward *a perfect working* of the currency ; and a perfect or equitable working of the currency would make even a faulty or inconvenient currency perfect in one sense, or as to *fairness in regulating the distribution of wealth.*

A few words now concerning a wholly false notion in regard to the Rights of Property, which has been spreading under high-tory auspices for the last fifty years, threatening families and nations with chaos, viz., the notion that "man can have no property in man." (Literally speaking, it is true that man can have no property in aught except the *good* or *ill* which he creates ; that he cannot own a *knife*, but only the *value* and *skill* he may have wrought into the iron of which the knife is composed ; but this is not the idea which the utterers of the maxim quoted seek to convey.)

Now this assertion not only lacks proof, but it contains no truth whatsoever. Man *can* have a property in every being that he can serve or even sympathize with, from the smallest insect up to the infinite God. So, if I injure a man, the evil implanted is *my property* so long as it shall exist. If Euclid, through his reasonings, have made me a reasoner, the faculties thus illuminated by him are to some extent *his property*, and I may also boast of him and love him as *my master*. I may honestly claim an eternal though by no means an absolute property, in every one who has ever reached me with his influence, or whom I have ever reached with mine. I may effectually make God *my God* by simply accepting his goodness and by voluntarily doing his will.

I am aware that the false maxim here criticised does not so much express an intellectual conviction as a spiritual disease; but this does not make it the less false, or the less injurious. The Pharisee who habitually violates both humanity and justice at home—who plays the tyrant in his own house and the sponge or the extortioner in his own neighborhood—can best divert public attention and evade remorse by despatching conscience on a foreign mission, and may even save wrongs of the first magnitude at his own door by raising a crusade against imaginary or exaggerated imperfections at a distance; a policy which may readily lead to a new definition of property, and a new code of morals also. But those who have conscience for their *friend*, and who receive its divine monitions with gratitude

and strive to *obey* them, can neither invent nor recognize any such maxims for its guidance.

We have before shown that rights carried beyond right become wrongs; and, as man can have no unlimited or unconditional property in any thing, of course he can have no *such* property in man. Yet man's property in man is the most sacred of all property so far as it is real, and he who loves right, or loves his race, ought ever to defend it. *E. g.*, if I take a barbarian who is morally inferior to an Arabian horse, without energy enough to do, of his own will, one day's work a week, nor intellect enough to count a dozen, and I make his life not only harmless but useful and happy, I am justly entitled to gratitude and service from him for all the service I have done him; while my country owes me its approval and support, both for having redeemed a fellow-man from vagabondage, and for having saved society from the vexations and thefts to which it would have been subjected, had my barbarian received no better guidance than his own. Certainly the practical teacher of Industry and Usefulness is better entitled to payment from his pupils, than the teacher of dogmatic theology; for, where Industry is wanting, there can neither be honesty toward men nor true worship of the Infinite Worker. Another point: No maxim-maker can sit in his closet and determine a master's rights for him by general reasoning, any more than he could thus determine the proper location and boundaries of his turnip-patch. To know what treatment or consideration an inferior ought to receive in any case from a superior in

practical wisdom, we must have an exact and intimate knowledge of the special persons concerned, their circumstances and their motives. To form a judgment without having the elements for a correct judgment, is to be not only an impertinent meddler but a fool.*

The social and moral benefits which the world may reap, by accurately understanding and properly respecting the Rights of Property, (which includes a proper *disrespect* for counterfeits) can hardly be enumerated or credited at this time. Righteousness in this particular would lead to

* He who serves an inferior, whether such inferior go upon two legs or four, is entitled to claim, of such service as the one served may be capable of, an equal amount in return; for, if it were not so, either the weak would be cut off from the help of the strong, or the strong would be the mere slave-property of the weak, and mere butts for the insolence of negroes and vagabonds. Nor is it necessary, where the disparity is very great, that the inferior's consent should be asked. Were the farmer obliged to get his team's consent before he could draw in their winter store of hay, he would have to wait till their wits were sharpened by hunger, when it would be too late. It is equally unnecessary to ask the consent of criminals and prowlers before sentencing them to hard labor. The consent of a man who has forfeited his right to the rank of a moral being by dethroning his own conscience—the consent of a will that is at war with right, or that is divorced from wisdom—amounts to nothing, and is rather to be commanded than sought.

Per contra: Be it remembered, that Wisdom forfeits its Right of Command or Mastery when it forgets Right. Also, that it is a moral impossibility for a genuine superior to be a plunderer or a tyrant; tyrants being inferior characters who, by lying and flattery, or else through the public dishonesty and cowardice, are enabled to possess and pollute the true superior's place.

righteousness in all things, and the long-predicted Millennium would be established. The absence of False Rights of Property would lead to the abandonment or the exclusion of all Falsehood; when Truth would fill the earth with Loveliness and Love, and men would grow in Innocence as they should grow in years. Even Selfishness would learn to take the side of virtue; for, when men should consider that all the good or ill committed by them would be *the doer's property* for ever—that no one can lie without fastening upon himself the eternal *ownership* of his lie, nor escape the penalty of *being a thief or a criminal* whenever he should steal or do wrong—that a man must have a *fixed proprietorship* in all the consequences of his acts, so long as consequences shall continue to flow from them or to endure—all their selfish instincts would unite with their nobler faculties in restraining them from evil. Besides, a clear perception of the natural penalties of wrong, and of the precision with which every sower of evil reaps his own field and inflicts his own punishment, would soon free all bosoms from the passion of revenge, and cause even the best founded indignation to melt into pity or wounded love.

§ 8. The Interests which are involved in the establishment and perfect working of a Just Monetary System.

It is a common idea that the world is governed by interest; but interest has less sway over the conduct of individuals and nations than is generally supposed, and owes whatever dominion it may have to its steadiness rather than its force.

Man, in the present or nascent stage of his being, may be compared to a thistle-down; his appetites, and his love of novelty and excitement, to the impelling winds; and his interest, to the power of gravitation, which every zephyr seems to conquer for a time, but which invariably triumphs in the end. Therefore, though the measures recommended in this essay would promote the interest of every man, class and nation upon earth, we ought not to despair though 'public opinion' should at first cry out loudly against them, and crown their advocates with a transient infamy. To obtain instant popularity, it is necessary to play the quack and excite hopes that are fallacious: no one thanks you for showing him that happiness may be obtained by a surrender of his vices and by faithful work.

As an instance of the doubts and opposition which sound measures of finance, when first broached, are liable to meet with, let me refer to the early history of the 'independent treasury scheme,' or 'the divorce of bank and state.' For years, while the project of collecting the revenues of the United States in lawful money, and of entrusting their safe-keeping to responsible officers, was in agitation, nearly all our bankers, business-men and public writers cried out against it, as if it were the very height of wickedness and folly. Even many of its well-wishers and advocates were thus frightened into doubts as to its practicability; and when the time came that a portion of every payment for duties must be made in specie, the Collector of this port and his cash-clerks were exceedingly troubled. How

could they possibly count all the dollars, dimes, pistareens, shillings, sixpences, sovereigns, thalers, francs, eagles, &c. &c., with all their various multiples and fractions, that they would be required to receive? And how, in the hurry and turmoil of such distracting operations, could they protect themselves against the arts of the counterfeiter? The merchants, if they believed their own newspapers, must have seen far more terrible dangers in their path; but, when the work was fairly started, both the difficulties and the impossibilities instantaneously vanished. All were astonished to find that a specie currency could not only work in our western hemisphere, but work so well. . . . And so it is with nearly all returns to right after a wrong course has become habitual; the way is full of lions. Men seldom see much danger in mutilating their own innocence, and running into intemperance, dishonesty and vice; but is impossible for them to lay down a *bad* habit without destroying their health, or, it may be, incurring consequences still worse.

Let us now leave our moralizing, and see, not merely what interests or classes will be gainers by the great measures previously suggested, but what interests will be likely to work for those measures, and finally reduce them to practice.

No doubt the better class of merchants, bankers and capitalists, are the persons best qualified to take the lead whenever the present system of finance shall become untenable. Something more than brilliant visionaries and men of eloquence are requisite when real work is to be done. A

trumpeter or an orator may be very well in his place, but it takes more than a trumpeter to win a battle. The present leaders of the business-world are men of admirable sagacity and practical talent, which they will naturally transfer to a more inviting field when the time shall come and the field shall open.

I hold it certain that a Perfect System of Production and Exchange, when organized and in motion, will benefit rich and poor alike, lightening the cares of the former no less than the toils of the latter. The rich will suffer no real diminution of their abundance, but will have the pleasure added to it of seeing abundance universal. The poor, when all their industrial energies shall be wisely regulated and economized, will find that an average of less than three hours' work per able-bodied man per day, can abundantly supply the whole human family with all the necessities of life; leaving the rest of their time for works of taste, offices of love, and the culture of their spiritual and mental powers.

Yet, consoling as these truths are, it must be admitted that neither the perfection of man's capacities for righteousness, nor the greatness of the inducements to righteousness which God has placed before him, can, of themselves, establish a reign of Universal Honesty and Peace among beings so full of mutual distrust, and so habituated to acts of meanness and knavery, as are the present race of men. It is only *selfish* advantages, such as gamblers pursue in their 'hells' and politicians in their conclaves, that our collective manhood can be made to work for or

‘popular opinion’ to appreciate. Unless we can be furnished with a purer motive-power than our earthly cravings, and better leaders than the demagogues and Pharisees who bewilder us by playing on our passions, we shall fail to surmount the difficulties before us, and our modern civilization must go the way of the ancient. I will therefore add some thoughts upon this point, (the hope of obtaining competent leaders and helpers) and then lay down my pen.

As the proper execution of this task will take us into unfamiliar ground, let us first examine our footing, and consider what means we have for arriving at the truth. All proof requires an assumption or self-evident truth for a fulcrum. We must assume the reliability of our senses and our reasoning powers when properly exercised, or else admit that there *may* be no real entities—no actual universe—for us to reason about, and that all the deductions of reason, not excepting mathematical proofs, *may* be fallacious. This fundamental assumption, however, is an inevitable deduction from the truthfulness of the Creator. If God be true—if he did not give us lying senses and thus make himself ‘the father of lies’—our knowledge of sundry great geological and astronomical facts and laws, including gravitation, may be pronounced INFALLIBLE as far as it goes. Reason and the senses have confirmed the essentials of those sciences so often, and in so many ways, that doubt concerning them is no longer possible; and if I can demonstrate my problem by the same kind of evidence and the same line of reasoning, no rational man will ask more.

Now, if the existence of a *material* universe, with all its force-resisting, force-charged forms and heaven-scaling forces, be established, then is the existence of a *spiritual* universe, with its infinitude of souls, and truths, and loves, and its susceptibility to *moral* power, established on the same testimony, (that of reason and the senses) and equally certain. It is also certain, (on the ground that ponderable matter every where bears some stamp of mind, and that every stamp must exist before it can give existence to impressions) that the spiritual universe, or that to which the essential elements of the human race belong, is older than any material construction; that its peculiar forces have at least as wide a sphere of action as those which seem to be properties of matter; and that the relations between its parts cannot be less delicate, less complex and universal, nor less real, than those of the material plane. Therefore, if each atom which enters into the constitution of our planet, do at once retain a distinct form and existence, and yet lose itself in an aggregation or organization of some sort; if all atomic and all organic earthly individualities lose themselves in that mighty organization which we call *the world*; if the world be but a portion of the solar system, and the solar system be (figuratively) but a congeries of atoms which lose themselves in a mighty stellar system having the Milky Way for a section of its outer rim; if this stellar system be but one of a countless number of stellar systems scattered, like spots of diamond-dust, through the infinitude of space; if every one of these ponderable atoms, organi-

zations and systems have a Centre of Gravity, or, to speak figuratively, a *physical soul*, so tying it to every other that a jar upon one is a jar to all, and a leaf cannot fall to the ground without giving an infinitesimal shock to the huge bulk of Jupiter; if, amid all the combustions and changes of the physical universe, not one of its atoms, or its forces, or its principles, was ever yet annihilated; if, so far as our observation can reach, every department of the physical world, for thousands of centuries, has been growing finer and more spiritualized systematically, insomuch that the coarsest weeds and brutes of to-day surpass the highest vegetable and animal organisms of the more ancient geological periods; if all these existences, singly and collectively, do daily acknowledge each other, and clasp each other in endless relationships, and constantly whisper to each other across infinitudes of time and space, "*We are relations—we are parts of a common organism—we are, each and all, words or expressions of One All-Inspiring Soul*;"*—surely, if all this be true of the physical universe, or of the mere

* The physical universe is, palpably, an infinite variety of parts or organisms, all adapted to the common purpose of enabling force to act on force and spirit to commune with spirit. This use and adaptation are so plain, and so universal, that they proved to the satisfaction of Socrates, (perhaps the most infallible of human reasoners) the existence of a competent or infinite Designing Mind, such as our Indians called the Great Spirit, and whom we name The Good, or God. (Of the god—'an alligator stuffed'—so often presented for human appeasement by sacrifice-eating quacks and soul-enslaving dogmatists, the physical universe no where speaks.)

clothing of Nature, we may be sure that the life clothed cannot be, in any of its elements or relationships, *less* perfect or *less* glorious—that the living thoughts of God cannot possibly be *inferior* to the bare book. We are fully justified, therefore, by all the laws of reasoning and all the lights of inspiration, in pronouncing that the Spiritual Universe, including the Human Race, is a ONE also; that every man belongs to it, and it to every man, just as every sand belongs to the world, and the world to every sand; and that all the generations of the past belong to the generation of to-day, even as we of to-day belong to all our ancestors, and as all our ancestors belong to the First Ancestor, God. We are justified in regarding THE WHOLE HUMAN FAMILY as being, under God, the Great Ruling Power of this planet; a Power which not only embraces every man now living in mortal form, but every Human Spirit also, or all the men and women who ever dwelt here; a Power having an eternal interest in, and control over, all the affairs and institutions of men.*

* I speak here according to appearances, without designing to question the concealed agency of the Deity. To make the growths and gifts imparted by God seem really man's own, the receiver must seem to acquire them wholly by his own voluntary exertions; and, accordingly, God most delicately disguises his benevolence by placing it behind human effort—first giving the farmer, for instance, the will and power to sow, then the crop or harvest. Without ostensible human agency, there never yet was any great human improvement.

As my recognition of spiritual agency or intervention in human affairs, may subject me to the censures of men

Let us now consider what will be the action of the heads or master-spirits of this family, in a contingency like the present. They cannot but prefer pleasure to pain, and progress to declension. They cannot but sympathize with us in our miseries, and render us such good service as we may be fit for and ready to accept. If our modern Usury System be on the verge of a final explosion, analogous to, but far more sudden than, that which dissolved the old Roman empire—if our present house be on the point of falling, and a new system of some sort inevitable—the only

of 'science, falsely so called,' I will here protest in advance against all attempts to make science a prison instead of a footstool for Reason. Science is mainly restricted to such phenomena as can be repeated at will, or observed at regular periods, like the tides and the eclipses; whereas Reason, "the eye of God," grapples with ALL phenomena, and reveres ALL truth, whether in heaven or on earth—whether pertaining to the free-will acts of spirits, or to the fixed properties of matter. The pedants or monkeys of the scientific world are quite apt to throw stones at the enlargers of the boundaries of science, but they shall not make a butt of me. If a truth really exist, and a man get a clear sight of it, it is just as legitimate a subject for *his* reasoning as it would be had all other men noted it also; and I have as good a right to deduce conclusions from the spiritual facts which I have observed with my own senses, as others have to do so from the traditionary facts of deceased strangers. The case of Joan of Arc shows that spirits once clearly interposed in the political affairs of France, for a long time; and, according to Daniel, a powerful angel professed to have been in a contest with the prince or guardian spirit of Persia for one and twenty days, when he was temporarily relieved by the guardian angel or spirit 'prince' of Daniel's nation, (Michael) but immediately went back "to fight against the prince of the Persians." - - Be all

open question is, what shall it be? Shall we, like the ancients, fall back toward the simpler institutions of savage life—institutions proper to the earlier stages of society, but below the aspirations of our best minds now—or shall we establish a reign of Social Harmony and Pecuniary Justice on the plane of a Perfected Civilization? The question being narrowed to this point, what must be the decision and the action of the higher powers?

To understand what kind of considerations will be likely to determine this action, we must consider how far the death of the body affects the powers, the conditions and the tendencies of the human spirit. Such death certainly cannot destroy its *moral* nature, nor any of its obligations to the King of Righteousness, otherwise called THE RIGHT. On the contrary, physical death, by removing all physical needs and temptations, must tend to make the moral nature preponderant. It must, sooner or later, effect a separation of the soul from its earthly self-delusions, and

this as it may, if souls really possess any powers after the death of the body, (as they must if they continue to *live*) it is certain that those powers cannot accomplish any good unless they be *used* or *put to work*; and we also know that there must be two opposing forces, or a power and a resistance or obstacle, before any action or result could be produced by any power. Therefore, either the spirit world is a repository of dead and powerless powers, or each spirit and tribe must have a field for the exercise of its powers adequate to their greatness:—in other words, it must have about as much resisting-force to fight against as it has of 'good' power to fight with, or to wield by its own will.

from the mesmeric or foreign hallucinations which dogmatism and impudence may have forced upon it. Which of our earthly lies can bear transplanting across the 'great gulf,' or can have more than a transient, sickly life in the world of naked souls? All lies are mortal; all lies must vanish, sooner or later, from the mind of liberated man. First would die whatever hopes the silly earth-worm might have cherished of escaping Natural Justice through favoritism; for so great and orderly a system as this universe does not admit of favoritism, chief element of anarchy, in its government. Were I asked to do my best to illustrate this absurdity by imagining its equal, I should say, that it was less possible for a just God to deviate, or to sanction any deviation, from Eternal Justice—in plain words, *to be a knave*—than it would be for Infinite Space to get drunk. We may safely conclude, therefore, that a genuine *respect for the right* would speedily be established in every earth-freed soul; also, that such respect would show itself in faithful efforts to *do* right, for it could not show nor satisfy itself in any other way. The soul would see that any divinely authorized violation or relaxation of the Law of Right, were it possible, would be only a cruel and degrading expulsion from the Realm of Righteousness of the spirits in whose favor the relaxation might be made; for, without *doing* right, there is no possibility of *being* either right or happy.

If the above premises (to me self-evident) be correct; if all escape from Perfect Justice be not only as impossible but as undesirable as an es-

cape from the universe ; if no man ever annihilated any of his duties by shirking them, nor got rid of his sins by falsely laying them to the innocent, nor became virtuous by a vicarious practice of virtue ; if all the relations of right and wrong, all the principles of morality, be as fixed as the integrity of the living God ; then, certainly, no human soul could long be a dweller in the spirit-land without endeavoring to conform to the real state of things—without trying to make good the ills resultant from its earthly sins of omission—without trying to repair all the injuries it had done to individuals or to society here, and to remedy all the wrongs it had in any way strengthened. It is certain that a *good* Father would not only permit but encourage this course on the part of his offspring, and that an *omnipotent* Father could not encourage it without making it successful. And the spirits who should act thus, could not fail to develope moral and intellectual powers of surpassing reach and excellence. A constant working together for good, and a constant studying together and enjoyment of *The Good*, would unite them all in bonds of ever-deepening affection and brotherhood : they would become as truly One Power as the earth is one whole : their sympathies would become so enlarged, and their grasp so perfect, as to take in every child of earth, and enable every honest heart on earth to feel their love and enter into their being : men would thus come in rapport with angels, and imbibe angelic love ; the affairs of earth would be brought under the guidance of angelic wisdom ; and God's will would be done on earth as it is in heaven.

In presenting these deductions, and in avowing my faith in their correctness, I do not mean to convey the notion, that the spirits of the just will ever relieve any man of any duty that is *his*; nor, that the moral deformities of earth's inhabitants, with the mountains of hypocrisy and iniquity which they have accumulated, can be swept off in a day. On the contrary, should God or good spirits supplant a man in his work, he could have but a vicarious interest in it afterwards, and could only go to heaven by attorney when he should take his reward. Neither can our earthly evils be removed without a steady, calm resistance, and a constant aspiration after good. Yet the establishment of peace on earth, when it shall be faithfully attempted under wise leaders and in the right way, will cost less time and effort than some suppose. Even now, in a world filled with wrongs, men trespass not so much from choice as because antecedent trespassers have crowded each man out of his own place. Many of our worst knaves would be glad to deal fairly with all men, if they knew they could always *get* fair play; and we who are 'honest,' when forced to participate in a cheating game, are generally more anxious to win than to lose. But there is nothing in the nature of things to prevent righteousness from very soon covering the whole earth, as the waters of the seas cover their beds. —May it do so, quickly!—The great political and financial evils which now cloud the earth, and the growing influence of the fast-increasing spirit host—an army that never loses a man—will yet make all peoples flee to THE RIGHT for refuge.

PROLOGUE TO ESSAY V.

GOVERNMENT, the physician to the body politic, has for its function *the prevention of discord and disorder*; social evils which grow out of Neglected Ignorance and consequent Presumption and Lying. Therefore, a government is perfect, in its tendencies and workings, in proportion as it dissipates Folly and Falsehood by ACTING according to Truth: i. e., by taking no man or thing for too much or too little; by proportioning its positiveness always to the degree of its knowledge; by ever keeping within the limits of certainty, and, like the mathematicians, holding the lamp of certainty so near that all may see the right path clearly. Truth is the only genuine governor or harmonizer in the universe, while every Falsehood is a disturber of Order, the Rights of Property and the Public Peace.—(Intentional Falsehood emanates from the weak and guilty, who use it to hide their weakness and guilt, and to obtain goods or honors which they have no right to; thereby making themselves despisers of the men they deceive, and haters of those whom they fail to deceive, or who will not connive at their deceptions—hating TRUTH, the great Governing Power of the universe, in proportion to the number and the baseness of their own sins against it.)

As the theory of a watch must have been framed and understood before any man could make or use a watch, so the theory of a perfect government must be carefully elaborated, and widely understood, before a Perfect Democracy, with its power of changing all human ills to goods *by putting them to a good use*, can possibly be established.

New-York, August, 1860.

ESSAY V.

THE IDEA OF A PERFECT DEMOCRACY OR GOVERNMENT OF TRUE MANLINESS.

When Governments confine themselves to the protection of Natural Rights, and to the preservation of True Order, they need no other power than that of Wisdom and Virtue: but when they become the champions of False Rights—when they are required to sustain order after its foundations have been sapped by favoritism and monopoly—they need a constant increase both of brute-force and money, and end in destroying the peoples they were designed to protect.

- § 1. The Democratic Principle defined, and common errors concerning its nature corrected.

If a Perfect Currency—a Righteous Money-Power—be possible, may we not hope for a perfect Human Government—a rightful *Man-Power*—also?

Every effort to attain perfection brings those who make it one step nearer to perfection. The only difference between the best man, or the best government, and the worst, is, that the efforts toward perfection (ancestral efforts included) in the one case have been faint or few, while they have been constant, coherent and earnest in the other. Therefore, though Perfection, like the North, or like the Centre of Gravity, may be a

vain abstraction to carping idlers, it is an ever-guiding pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night to the true man.

*To govern is the sacred prerogative of Wisdom—of which Moral Wisdom, or Honesty, is the highest kind—and no government is legitimate any farther than it is based on Superior Wisdom and Virtue **

To put the government of the world on this basis, so that the crude, deformed and undeveloped manhood of every country shall be watched over and ruled over by its ripened manhood, is the true aim and tendency of the Democratic Principle; and, so far as any 'democracy' does not match this description, it is false.

Therefore, inasmuch as Democracy or the true Man-Power is something higher than an arbitrary

* The principle here contended for may be stated and illustrated thus: Any power can rightfully restrain and govern such powers as are beneath itself in greatness or in excellence. Moral Power (Conscience) is the rightful governor of intellect; while intellectual power should control steam, gravitation, and all brute forces. So ought Men who are anchored on the Moral Plane, or who obey the Law of Right, to govern their inferiors in conscientiousness by all moral means. Such subordination of the baser to the nobler, of selfishness to excellence, is what constitutes both individual virtue and social order; and order is the basis of all true happiness, the beginning of all created forms and all finited life.

It follows from the above, that every Ruling Power which is base or irrational, either in its means or its ends, though it may affect the form and usurp the name of a 'government,' is in fact an Anti-government, just as the opposite of Truth is a Lie, and Idols are the opposite of God.

tyranny of numbers, where Folly domineers because fools are many, and men pass by tale without regard to sense or worth, we cannot have a Perfect Democracy without a perfect Standard of Manhood, whereby to determine who shall exercise the prerogatives of manhood, and whereby to regulate the extent of each man's political power.

What constitutes a Man?—Not the outward shape merely, for that may belong to a statue or a corpse. Not human parentage merely, for the idiot can boast that. The so-called 'democracy' which shirks its first duty, that of a *just discrimination*; which takes all two-legged animals at the same valuation, and allows all who come short of being quadrupeds to wield the prerogatives of manhood; which allows the ignorance of a country to fix its standard of wisdom, the laziness and dishonesty of a country to tamper with its laws of property, and the ruffianism of a country to regulate its manners and its morals; *such* 'democracy' is at war with every human right—not only with the right of ignorance to the guidance of its betters, and the right of unsubdued animalism and dishonesty to the censure of its betters, but with that most sacred of all heavenly rights, *the right of excellence to honor*.

My answer to the question just propounded is this: *He only is a Man* (politically, at least) *who possesses the Virtues of a Man, and performs the Duties of Manhood*. So far as any human being can stand this test, the prerogatives of government over all (within his sphere of life) who are less manly, are his by Divine Right; and if he

neglect to claim and use these prerogatives, with due modesty and dignity, for the good of his juniors and inferiors, he sins against both God and man.

While the above test is thorough enough to satisfy the most exacting, the most licentious of demagogues cannot complain that it is any way arbitrary or exclusive. It only requires men to *possess* virtue before they assume its *prerogatives*; and the path of virtue is open to all. The virtues of the highest angels (modesty included) are open to the practice of the feeblest man; and if any man fail to acquire them, the fault is not in the selfishness of the angels, nor in the laws of moral growth, but in himself.

Both in framing and in using a practical test of Manhood, due care must be taken to avoid giving to mere *capacity for virtue* the honors of virtue herself. The extent of a man's capacities merely denotes the extent of his obligations to God and man: the *use* that he makes of them—the *fruits* that his capacities bring forth—these are the only tolerable proofs either of the world's indebtedness to him, or of his fitness for any human trust. He who uses one talent well, is more a Man than he who misuses five.

In proportion as we elevate our Standard of Manhood, and make Virtue the basis of political power, we elevate all who take part in the government, and all who live under it. We make Democracy not merely a government of the wisest and best men, but a government of God or Divine Wisdom *through* the wisest and best. We make obedience not so much an act of duty

or concession to power, as a voluntary acceptance of light and love from superior wisdom; a wisdom that only demands the subjection of things below reason to reason, things below conscience to conscience, and things below God to God; a wisdom, too, that demands this not out of any selfish craving after dominion—not out of any mean wish to hide its own littleness by wearing a stolen mask of greatness—but in order that God's own life and virtues may more effectually reach, warm and ennoble all hearts, however ignorant they may be, however simple.

Thus much by way of fixing upon our foundations; and now for the superstructure. Here we are forced out of the realm of perfect principles into that of imperfect men. We are forced to work with imperfect and intractable materials; even as the navigator, after studying the theory of his art in books and charts, must grapple with the seemingly lawless forces of the winds, and the instability of the waters. *How can we make imperfect men either form, accept or obey a perfect government?*

At first sight, this difficulty seems insurmountable—a natural impossibility; but a close analysis will show that it is not so. Things are imperfect only as they are out of place, or put to a wrong use: *if rightly used*, every thing that God has either made or permitted is “very good,” and capable of producing good for ever. Rightly used, our excrements can give beauty and fragrance to the flowers, and our sins can sweeten the moral atmosphere with the breath of humility, or awaken indolence to deeds of heroic virtue.

Rightly placed—placed in true subjection to and rapport with the higher powers—each disintegrated human atom becomes elevated from the condition of utter selfishness, or moral pus, to that of a living soul: it becomes, so to speak, a tissue of God's own body; a nerve having God's life for its life; a sympathising heart that can enter into the joys of every true heart, and share all the glories of virtue, and be a perpetual centre of angelic goodness and angelic love.

Therefore, the problem of forming a perfect society out of, and a perfect government over, selfish and imperfect men, requires nothing more for its practical solution than *the putting each member of society in his true place*: in other words, we have only to elevate the strong according to their merits or their works, and to minister to the feeble (disregarding their whims or diseased cravings) according to their true needs. Whether we would form a perfect government or order among men, or a perfect harmony with music-notes, the process is the same; and not only is the social order as much marred, but the man is as truly debased and injured, by being set a note too high in the political scale, as by being placed a note too low.

§ 2. Wisdom the Life of all True Government.

If our fundamental principle be correct, (that the function of governing belongs exclusively to wisdom) we cannot form a perfect theory of government without we first get a correct idea of the nature of the true governing power. This is a problem which cannot be determined by au-

thority, nor by numbers; for base and narrow intellects will have base and narrow ideas of wisdom, and what would pass for wisdom with one class, or one stage of development, would be folly to a mind of higher powers. I hold that wisdom does not consist in the knowing of many things, but *in the absence of presumption, and in fidelity to the things that are certainly known.* In other words, wisdom does not consist in the perception of truths, but in fidelity to truth, and becoming one with it in our acts and lives, according to *our own* sense and conscience; for knowledge not lived up to is as profitless as a trade not worked at—is the very opposite of wisdom; and, in regard to using *our own* reason and conscience, God does not permit us to have any other, or to have more than a fancied knowledge of other men's—so we must use our own or none. Hence, the most unwise of all human efforts is the effort to fix an arbitrary or an external standard of wisdom, whether in the shape of a book, or of a learned class, or of a ruling class; all such devices or modifications of idolatry merely giving a false momentary stimulus to the imagination by placing a perpetual stumbling-block in the path of reason. *All the wisdom I have* is the only practical standard of wisdom for me; and the wisdom of yesterday cannot be a perfect standard or mechanical guide for my conduct to-day, unless to-day have failed to bring with it any increase to my wisdom, or any change to my aptitudes and surroundings.

Perhaps the best proof of wisdom or true reason is *modesty*. Wisdom never wars against its

own supremacy in other minds, but honors their reason as it honors its own; presenting naked truths to be pondered, but never tampering with the scales of judgment, nor dictating how much weight another mind shall give to any truth whatever. The presence of dogmatism proves the absence of both honesty and wisdom; for human judgment, to *be* judgment, must be unconstrained and individual, as a balance ceases to be a balance when it is lashed to other scale-beams, or is tampered with by the hand of a meddler. (Of the wisdom of brute-force, and the rule of brute-force, I do not speak: I leave them to brutish natures. They are but the external consequences or symptoms of a previous rebellion against *true* wisdom, and can have no place among MEN when men shall have resumed their allegiance to the 'laws of nature,' or the infinite volitions of God.)

The operation of Wisdom, regarded as the governing power of man, may be likened to that of Attraction, regarded as the governing power of matter. It is a force every where consistent in its action, yet never acting exactly alike on two distinct things; gentler than the falling of the dew, yet infinite in reach, and in might irresistible; holding all things firm, while aiding each to follow out its own true yearnings; commanding itself only, serving others only, yet receiving honor and obedience to its wishes every where in spite of its self-abnegation, or as a consequence of the love it both feels and inspires. It may be truly called the Perfect Power—the Perfect Government—and *the Right of Allegiance and*

Obedience is the highest dignity it has to confer ; a dignity for which the highest angels are grateful in proportion to their exaltation—and doubly grateful that it is not conferred upon them alone, but is extended to (though too often rejected by) the weakest and the basest of men.

It follows from the foregoing, that a genuine Democracy or rational Man-Power is no where possible, any farther than the people may be sane or rational *in their aspirations*, at the very least ; and that all *arbitrary* guides and laws are as contrary to the nature of true Democracy, as are wars and insults to the nature of true Love.—Genuine government being merely a means for the preservation and diffusion of true order, and order being that heavenly good which the truly human part of every man most covets—for the possession or prevalence of order is the first step toward true freedom—the life of true government must always consist in bringing the power of superior wisdom and stability to act wherever the want of them is found. Democracy, therefore, in the last analysis, is but one of the innumerable manifestations or evolutions of the law of plus and minus, positive and negative, demand and supply, attraction and repulsion ; a law infinite in extent, and which lies at the bottom of all life-manifestation, all action, all happiness, all outflows of love.

But, though Democracy is co-extensive with true order in all the departments of human life—though the republic of letters, the world of trade, the domain of science, and the church of The Right, are Natural Democracies, wherein truth

is the only basis of power, and excellence the only title to homage—we will now consider it exclusively in its political aspect, or as a means of national strength and social concord. To make the principle of Democracy vitalize all the parts of a nation, and reach all the various grades of intelligence and manhood, it must have a material embodiment or form to act through; which form will be either alert and healthy or crippled and diseased, according to the goodness of its constitution and its works. So far as it may embody and unitize the True Manhood of the country, so far will it give the country a true democratic government—a reign of manly wisdom. So far as it may fall short of this—so far as it may arbitrarily confer the *powers* of manhood and the *dignities* of virtue upon those who lack manhood or virtue—so far will it subject the country to that worst form of slavery, the despotism of numbers.

§ 3. How to give the Democratic Principle an efficient organism—
The chief causes of our past failures.

There is but one way to politically embody the Select Manhood of a country, viz., to enrol such of its citizens as can show, or have given, *good and tangible Proofs of Manly Virtue*. Of such proofs, the most essential are those which establish the ownership of the two *fundamental* virtues, without which all other human virtues can have but a precarious existence—INDUSTRY and GOOD HUSBANDRY or ECONOMY. It is to the first of these that God himself owes his highest, because most useful, attribute; for, without Indus-

try, he would never have been The Creator.—Nor would Industry amount to much without Good Husbandry for its helpmate; for though it might single-handed cause wealth to exist, it could not cause wealth to bring forth much happiness. These two virtues, like male and female, must either come together and help each other or be barren.

It is with the substantial virtues as with fine gold; the smallest grains are as precious—as much entitled to consideration, though not entitled to as much consideration—as the largest ingots. Even when grains of virtue are used by hypocrisy to tinsel meanness, the contempt they inspire is not owing to the smallness of the amount, but to the baseness of the use and the user. Therefore, in organizing a Democracy, or Government of True Manliness, every possessor of manly virtue ought to form, prospectively at least, one of its constituent atoms, and be one of its guardian-potentates, so far as he may make his virtues fruitful of good works, and give them dominion over his lower appetites or passions. Yet, in recognizing the claims of virtue, no virtue ought to have more than *its own just due* of honor. Aught *more* than right is necessarily wrong—*ought beyond* truth, falsehood.

This caution against overestimating men and their virtues—against jumping at the conclusion that men are politically trustworthy, instead of requiring tangible proofs—is not uttered without a reason. Democracy, like all things else on earth, has its natural enemies; and those enemies are most dangerous who get confounded with and

wield the rights of friends. Democracy, therefore, ought to be as careful to eliminate or excrete from the potential parts of its organization *every man of unproved virtue*, as it is to rally and combine all whose manhood can be trusted with safety. Not only are self-conceit and weakness ever striving to crowd themselves into the places of wisdom and strength out of a silly vanity, but Aristocracy or Banded Injustice often seeks to lower its great antagonist by stimulating such efforts, and thus throwing the powers of Democracy into incompetent hands. Our American Democracies, during the last seventy years, have had many bitter proofs of this truth. 'The injurer never forgives the injured ;'* and this saying applies to aggressive combinations and classes with even more force than to men sinning singly,

* The principle which underlies this fact is worth knowing. Whenever A injures, or inflicts a wrong upon, either a man or a class, A creates in himself not merely an indelible ownership of the implanted evil, but a partial or joint proprietary right to all the evils and miseries which it may help to breed, to the end of time. This makes the injured party an ever-breeding treasury of pains and evils to the injurer. A instinctively feels this, though he may try to resist and expel the feeling ; he desires the injured party's annihilation in consequence ; which instinctive desire is the bitterest and most implacable form of the thing called 'hatred.'

The same law prevails in regard to the well-doer. God rewards him on the same infinite scale, causing him not only to feel LOVE toward all whom he benefits, but to own a share in all the happiness and love which his good acts may inspire, whether in heaven or earth, for ever. Thus, whether as The Creator or The Rewarder, God is never less than infinite.

because a joint-stock conscience (the only conscience that sects and parties ever manifest) takes note of the sins of opponents merely, and cannot see its own. Party or sectarian conscience knows but one sin—lack of party subserviency or of party spirit—and for that it can crush out the life of a Socrates or of a Jesus : it knows but one virtue—reckless zeal in behalf of class supremacy—and for that it can canonize the basest spoiler. A joint-stock or party conscience can glory in the bombardment of far-off cities for refusing tribute to aliens, and in the butchery of domestic rebels against party arrogance and robbery.—Worst of all, it can raise its crime-stained hands to heaven, thank God that its devotees are not as other men are, and send out prating pensioners of extortion to preach abroad the religion so disgraced by them at home. I cite these painful facts, not to excite rage but caution. The world has long been tyrannized over by privileged orders and banded interests, whose members have never been taught to earn their bread by *good* works ; who have been accustomed to make simplicity a laughing-stock and useful industry a prey ; and whose hatred for their victims is none the less real because it is denied in words, and its expression is mainly confined to the language of action. This class of triumphant wrong-doers has ever waged, secretly or openly, a deadly war against True Democracy or True Manliness ; not because they love human misery and debasement in the abstract, but because they have made these the foundations of their own wealth and mastery, and thus arrayed their interest against the laws of God and the rights of man.

Now that our attention is directed toward the causes of governmental perversion, let us glance at another, viz., the looking to political government for too much ; the tendency to make it a source of wealth and honor to individuals ; (as if the carver at a feast were expected to increase the quantity of food by his carving, or the compass to provide freight for the ship)—whereby government is thrown out of its true sphere, and eventually changed into a base taxing-machine, or a monster of prey, and itself becomes a prey to the grave-worms of faction. We should bear in mind that no government, even were it framed by God and administered by angels, could transcend its true sphere a single hair-breadth without changing its whole nature to that extent, and becoming so far a usurpation or tyranny. Governments can no more *create* wealth than watch-dogs can create sheep. Their only function is JUSTICE—the giving to every one *his own*, rewarding strength according to its works, and defending weakness according to its rights ; and every attempt to change them from guardians into *sources* of wealth, is an attempt to make them plunderers of A for the gain of B. The only source of wealth that God has provided, either for himself or for man, is Industry—Work. The man who is too feeble to approach this all-sufficient source, has the right to beg, and possibly, in some cases, the right to steal ; but government ought never to steal for him, and still less for those who are able to work. (Such, however, is the chief business of the ‘governments’ which levy taxes on human industry at present.) Nor

is this the only error of the sort. Government is too often regarded as the source of *liberty* as well as of wealth. But Liberty, like Life, or like Consciousness, is the gift of God alone; and government ought to have nothing to do with it, except to prevent knaves and fools from using more than their share, or from being more free than honest.

Having now seen what are and what are not the legitimate functions of government, the question as to who shall direct those functions—who shall be admitted into the electoral body, the grand source of political power—loses most of its difficulty. *Homogeneousness* is one essential; for if it was wrong for the followers of Moses to yoke an ox and an ass together to plough their fields, it must be worse to yoke the honest and the knavish, savages and civilized, or white men and negroes, to the same political helm—a forced alliance which the better sort will end as soon as possible by slipping off their yoke and leaving the base to rule by baseness. It is quite as contrary to Democracy to disregard distinctions that are real, as it is to maintain distinctions that are false. When a country is peopled by different races, it is for the interest of all that it should be governed by its *most advanced race*; the rule of inferiors being intoxicating to them and debasing to the ruled.* Another essential is, a *fixed*

* It is certain that aliens have no right to meddle with the functions of the government that shelters them. Now there are two kinds of aliens, those who are aliens in consequence of the *place where*, and those who are aliens in consequence of the *race whence*, they were born. The former class can be naturalized, the latter cannot.

interest in the country's welfare. No person or people can be too jealous of foreign meddlers or of irresponsible manufacturers of public opinion. The right men to govern either a family, a workshop, or a state, are its owners or co-owners; who, however, are to borrow what light they can from other men's experience, and, if requisite, to sacrifice their own to other men's welfare. All experience shows, that men without a fixed interest in a country do not generally care for its interests, and cannot be entrusted with them without danger. A third essential is, *the power of self-support and self-control.* It is foolish if not cruel to thrust the cares of state upon men who cannot carry their own weight nor preserve their own independence; and the political powers confided to such are sure to be usurped or controlled for dishonest purposes, by knaves and trucklers.

Our revolutionary fathers, being lovers of justice and freedom instead of demagogues, were not afraid to practically acknowledge these principles, though they did so imperfectly. During the first 45 years of the existence of New-York as a state, (from 1777 to 1822) none but resident taxpayers and householders were allowed to vote for Members of Assembly; and no one could vote

Even the abolitionist, when harboring runaway slaves, does not let them participate in the *government* of his household, nor recognize children born of them upon his premises as *co-heirs* with his own to his estate. Can he be an honest citizen, who is more 'liberal' of the rights or property of his state, and more careless of its dignity and interests, than he is of the rights, honors and interests of his own petty household?

for Governor or for Senator unless he was possessed of 'a freehold of the value of one hundred pounds (\$250) over and above all debts charged thereon.' In a primitive state of society, where no landed or moneyed aristocracy had crept in, and no special privileges or violations of natural justice had been sanctioned by law, this simple regulation would admit nearly all possessors of surplus strength to devote it to the public service, and would exclude nearly all who, through lack of independence, or of industry, or of economy, or of temperance, or of interest in public affairs, should be unfit to be entrusted with political power. It is certain, that while the freehold qualification was in force, our best and bravest intellects were to be found in the legislature, and that the standard of political morality was many degrees above the state-prison level, or the level that prevails now. Yet it was never sufficient to ensure us a spotless electoral body, or to prevent the framers of our laws from often yielding to dishonest influences. It was a qualification which *might* be acquired by usury or wrongdoing as well as by the practice of industry and its fellow-virtues. It did not prevent the war of 1812 from giving a new lease to the labor-swindling Paper System of the Anglo-Yankee Speculating Interest; nor could it prevent the paper-saturated 'democracy' from running into aristocratic dishonesties, and becoming the prey of wheedling demagogues or *friendly* enemies and destroyers. Accordingly, in 1822, our false democracy attacked the vitals of Democracy, the sole safe-guard of electoral purity, by abolishing

the free-hold qualification, and entrusting the governing power to *the anarch Every Body*, without exacting any substantial qualification or security whatsoever. We reversed the true order of things, giving to the weak and foolish *paper power* instead of *true service* and *protection*; a policy which has caused the care and blessings of government to be almost monopolized by the dishonest and the artful, while those most needing its aid have been loaded with its burdens.

† 4. Who ought to possess the Elective Franchise.

What we ought to have done when we altered the basis of the elective franchise, and what we must yet do before our government can become any thing more than a Party Inquisition, is this: To take the ancient freehold qualification for its actual worth; to require it so far as it is *necessary to the independence of the voter*, or a *true* proof of industry and manly virtue; to disallow it so far as it might put political power in base hands; and to add to it such other Tests of Manhood as may be needed in order to make the true men of the state the sole electors of the state.— As a general rule, the man without a home of his own among us has but a vagrant's interest in the permanent welfare of the state, and his vote *may* be more influenced by his appetites, or by his landlord, than by either his patriotism or his conscience. In practice, every grant of the elective franchise to an unfit man is a *license to some political busybody or knave to vote twice*, the legal 'voter' merely carrying a duplicate vote of some party manager to the ballot-box, instead of voting

himself. I would therefore, after removing all artificial impediments to the acquisition of a freehold, restrict the elective franchise to persons owning a house or a shop in decent repair, or else a farm growing more grass than weeds.

As the grand measure advocated in Essay IV. (the Abolition of Usury whether on land or money) would almost force the freehold qualification on every honest man, there can be no objection to making it a general condition of the elective franchise. Yet a man may not only own a freehold, but pay taxes, without being a safe depositary of political power. The payment of taxes is a good pecuniary claim to the service and protection of government, but no title to ITS CONTROL. That belongs to Honesty, or the wisdom of righteousness—that primary element of social and even of heavenly order, which places the very least of its possessors in rapport with The Right and The True every where, as the smallest dew-drop presents a side to every part of the universe no less perfectly than does the sun. Honesty always regulates its conduct by the wisdom that it *has*, not by that which flatterers may impute to it, or that which quacks pretend to without verifying by their works; it never presumes or lies; therefore, even when its wisdom is most limited, pure Honesty never can commit either a crime or a blunder.

‘But, if the world were honest enough to desire a government of THE HONEST, how can the gold be separated from the pinchbeck, the sheep from the goats? What is to be the Test of Honesty, and who the Judge?’ I reply, let our first care

be to guard against *false* tests and incompetent judges. Unless we can do this, we can do nothing. Honesty can no more be proved by any arbitrary test, than principles can be weighed in a balance, or than the greatness of God can be expressed in cubic inches. Honesty can only be judged by honesty; wisdom by wisdom; and the judge, to have sense, must have life also. Past honesty and departed wisdom cannot be properly substituted for personal investigation, nor paper rules for living judges. Of *arbitrary* tests of wit and worth, the world has tried nearly all that the wit of man could imagine; and the best of them have proved a means of giving dominion to knaves and social pre-eminence to the impudent. They have actually made human governments a monopoly held by the false and wicked, with a few well-intentioned weaklings interspersed as a blind; for Honesty can no more be a candidate for *arbitrary* rank and power, than Chastity can become a candidate for pollution in competition with harlots.

Probably the utmost that can be done by law or general regulation in the premises is this: it can determine what class of men *generally* possess the virtue of patriotism, and what kind of works *generally* prove the possessor to be trustworthy as a citizen. The man who is faithful in his nearest duties—who has the Manliness to get a farm or a shop of his own, and the Industry to make it sightly and beneficial to himself and to others—may safely be admitted to the class who are to ‘rule over many things.’ The owners of the well-governed freeholds of a country, must of

necessity, taken as a class, be true and trusty lovers of the country they own, and the safest possible depositary of its political sovereignty. I therefore lay it down as an axiom, *that the honest and useful freeholders of a country are the formative substance from which and by which its government ought to be elaborated and controlled.*

This point being settled, the first step toward organizing a Democratic Government would be, the classification of the freeholders according to their works, and the eliminating from the electoral body of such persons as might chance to own a freehold without owning a freeholder's virtues; for, as good men may have bad heirs, and as idle knaves may get the insignia of Industry by fraud, the excretory power would be perpetually necessary. To deny it to the electors would be to degrade the good without elevating the bad; all attempts to make bad men good by giving them arbitrary claims to good men's fellowship, like the thrusting of strumpets into the society of young girls, or rotten peaches into a basket of sound ones, only dragging down the pure to the level of the beastly. (I foresee that Demagogism and Pharisaism will 'quote scripture' against this doctrine; but, when Christ mingled with publicans and harlots, it was with *honestly disposed* publicans and *penitent* harlots. His conversation with Mary Magdalen was not caused by her being, but by her having ceased to be, a bad woman.)

The next question is, *how* shall the freeholders be classified, and each one's powers be justly regulated and defined? And *how* shall they

distinguish and separate the fit from the unfit? The first step in the way of classification must of necessity be an imperfect one; for the Creator himself never brings an organism to perfection by a single move. I would recommend a separation of the electoral body into two general classes, as was done by the fathers of the revolution in the constitution of 1777; the basis of the classification being superior experience, conjoined with superiority of works as indicated by the value of the freehold. The first class might be limited to citizens of thirty years old and upwards, owning freeholds worth not less than 500 days' work; such freeholders to choose the Governor and Senate, with all executive and judicial state officers except those appointed by the Governor and Senate. The second class might comprise every citizen owning a freehold worth 100 days' work or more, who should have reached the age of twenty-one: it should be empowered to vote for Members of Assembly, and for all town and county officers.

This arrangement would confide the more important and more delicate governmental powers to the ablest and best class of men in the state; to those who would have least to gain, and most to lose, by any governmental iniquity. It would give the junior freeholders ample power to protect themselves against any possible attempt at partial legislation; also, the advantage of much practical tuition and experience in the conduct of public affairs, before the weightiest public business could devolve upon them. The classification being based upon actual differences in

point of age, experience, and honest acquisition, would not be arbitrary in its interior character, nor aristocratic in its workings; while it would in some measure apportion the cares and responsibilities of government between juniors and elders according to their respective capacities, devolving the greatest trusts upon the ripest powers. It would therefore tend, as does every *true* social distinction, to foster a spirit of magnanimity and mutual respect. It would open the way to a healthy organic action and reaction—to an organic national life; for, so long as the constituent atoms of the social chaos remain unasorted, life of any sort (unless we call turmoil life) is impossible.

To purify the electoral body and prevent the exercise of political power by dishonest or unworthy freeholders, (for no mere *sign* of industry and worth can be invariably true to the thing signified) the list of freeholders in each town or ward should be annually revised, and the name of every grossly unjust or immoral man should be stricken from the list of voters. It will be objected, and I freely admit, that this power of excretion *might* be abused, as can every power in heaven and earth. But this is no argument against its *right use*. Still less does it prove that nonuse is better than right use with occasional errors; for it is better to keep ten healthy men in quarantine than to let one man bring in the plague. It only proves that honest men alone should be entrusted with the revision. To ensure this result, and to prevent the power from being prostituted to party, let each class of freeholders,

at the annual town-meeting, vote for a Censor or Guardian of the Elective Franchise; the person in each class receiving the highest number of votes to be one of the Censors, and the person next highest a Vice-Censor, for the year; the Censors, by vote or by lot, to designate one of the Vice-Censors for an associate with a Censor's powers, and the other to act as Censor also in case of the disability or absence of either Censor; three persons thus chosen to form a Board of Censors for the town or ward, and to classify the freeholders for the year next ensuing;—no freeholder to be excluded from the list of voters unless two members of the board so direct, and no non-freeholder to be enrolled without the consent of the three.

Under this simple arrangement, every man in the state who should be mentally and morally qualified could be a legal voter, while every unfit man could be legally excluded from tampering with the powers of government. Government would also cease to be a war-club of Party; for, with an electoral body thus constituted, the Working Men and Saving Men of the country—the great Producing Interest—would soon be the RULING INTEREST; and then politicians would become as peaceable, as free from the spirit and the clap-trap of Party, as the mathematicians have been for the last six thousand years. For as all political factions are but political carrion-crows, who, hiding their real character under specious 'party issues,' gather round the carcase of wealth-breeding, tax-eaten, usury-ridden LABOR for the sake of 'the spoils,' they will surely

flee away and be seen no more, whenever the Laboring Interest, through the championship of *faithful* sentinels, shall cease to be a wreck and a prey. Let us not, therefore, be deterred from subjecting the voter—the political *primum mobile*—to responsible examiners, through fear that our Censors will abuse their powers. The public interests will suffer from the laxity of the Censors much oftener than personal pride will be wounded by their severity; and as the censorial power would merely be the power of *preventing our political demoralization*, it could not injure even the profligate except in their pride. If we have any government at all, we must have aggregations of power; this is the only alternative to anarchy; and the above plan would not confer near so much power upon a board of three Censors, as the Roman republic, for many centuries, entrusted to two.*

* Plutarch calls the Censorship 'the most sacred of all offices,' and 'the highest dignity in the republic.' It was doubtless the chief cause of the greatness and longevity of the Roman republic. 'The Romans appointed two magistrates, the one out of the patricians, and the other out of the plebians, to inspect, to correct, and to chastise such as they found giving in to dissipation and licentiousness, and deserting the ancient manner of living.—These great officers they called Censors; and they had power to deprive a Roman knight of his horse, or to expel a Senator who led a vicious and disorderly life.—They likewise took an estimate of each citizen's estate, and enrolled them according to their pedigree, quality and condition.' (Life of Cato.) When the republic had stood about 500 years, the number of citizens registered by the Censor Emilius was 337,452—a list two hundred times as great as any local Board of Censors would ever be required to make out, under the plan here submitted.

In making up the yearly List of Electors, the Censors should be guided by these principles:—Government being the prerogative of Honesty and Manly Greatness, with the army of the just for its guardians and supporters, no person ought to be enrolled therein whose life, in its general tenor, proclaims him an adherent to the opposite camp, or a worker of injustice. He who *wilfully* lives at other men's expense—who habitually substitutes deceit or extortion for useful labor, doing to others what he would not have others do to him, and exacting from others what he would not have others exact of him—ought not to be placed among the guardians of the Citadel of Public Justice. Neither should the man who

In connection with the Censorship, we ought to revive the great humanizing feature of the ancient British polity, viz., the subdivision of the electors of every town or ward into Tithings, or Political Families of about twelve voters each, with a Foreman or Head. The power of the Foreman should be rather patriarchal than compulsory, and might extend to all matters of public concern; to the roads, drainage, fertilizing and beautifying of his district; to the promotion of discreet, and the discouragement of indiscreet marriages; to the banishment of gamblers and prostitutes, and the correction of idleness in the young by public reprimand or otherwise. He might also receive, and convey to the town Inspectors of Election, the ballots of the voters of his district, at every election; thus saving each voter two useless journeys annually. It was her ancient subdivision into Political Families or Tithings that gave England her freedom and national greatness; and the same measure would soon convert our present social hotch-potch into a true body politic, composed of living tissues, every tissue in organic vital relation with the state capital or head.

debases his reason and his conscience by sottishness, be registered among the protectors of Public Virtue. All should be made to understand, that the Elective Franchise is not an arbitrary 'right' created by the fiat of human law, but a sacred means for enabling the wise and good to secure the lead of their wisest and best, and for giving to the weak and immature the guidance of the strongest understanding.

§ 5. How to prevent Electors from betraying their trust.

It would be well, I think, to go still farther, and to take measures to prevent Electors from shirking their duties, or from becoming the mere voting-puppets of party managers. If irresponsible 'nominating committees' are to get up and poll printed tickets by wholesale; if cliques of political blacklegs are thus to cast their hundreds or their thousands of votes to the honest man's one; let us at least make them send their extra votes to the ballot-box by their dogs, or by tools that do not wear the shape and the name of *men*. Every vote that does not express the unbiassed judgment of the offerer is a false vote—a public cheat and insult—that ought to cost him his right hand. To check this slavish and knavish practice, let us require every vote to be given *viva voce*, or else in the hand-writing of, and signed by, the voter whose judgment it purports to express.

'But might not such publicity militate against the independence of the voter?' Bah! what sort of 'independence' must that be, which fears to show its face on its own premises by day-light?

Let us not fancy that we shall obtain heroism from cowards, or honesty from knaves, or wisdom from fools, by setting them to vote in the dark. The man who fears to express his own judgment by his own vote, ought not to disgrace the elective franchise by pretending to exercise it; and the Censors should never enroll such a man in the army of the just.

That only is a Perfect Democracy, or Government of Manliness, which, while it enables every man to exert his just influence on public affairs, *permits no man to exert more*;—subordinating Quantity to Quality, and Numbers to Good Sense and Virtue. (God, though in a minority of one, morally outnumbers all the devils.) Democracy is the reverse of Anarchy, and puts power in *the right hands* instead of *all hands*. It does not require that the many should *hold office*, (and an Electorship is as truly a public office and trust as a Governorship) but it demands that all offices be held by men truly faithful to The Many and The Right. The sole object of democratic elections is, to put the strongest, the wisest, and the most conscientious, in the places where strength, and wisdom, and honesty, are most needed, and where they will most promote the public welfare. In arranging the *means* to this end, it is unwise (therefore unmanly and undemocratic) to employ any thing that is at war with the end, or that is not auxiliary thereto. It is as unwise to have incompetent Electors in a Democracy, as it is to have blind men and cripples in an army; and it is better to withhold political authority from two citizens worthy of trust, than to confer it on one

who is not worthy. If the electoral body be too numerous to be capable of degenerating into or becoming subservient to any clique or class, it is then large enough; for in politics, as in mathematics, success depends upon the accuracy with which we follow The Right, not upon the multifariousness of our aids and instruments.

One great error of our present constitution is, that it requires the electoral body to undertake more work at once, in the way of investigating qualifications for office, than it can possibly perform; thus practically giving all power into the hands of irresponsible private cliques and party committees. The electors of the state ought to choose, directly, its chief officers only—its Governor and Lieutenant Governor—leaving the offices which require good *professional men* instead of great men to be filled by the Governor and Senate. What can be more absurd than to call out half a million of men, most of whom are as little versed in engineering as in midwifery, to elect a Canal Commissioner, or a State Engineer and Surveyor? And the election of Judges, too, by men wholly ignorant of legal science—who neither know the requirements of the office, nor the professional and moral fitness for it of any candidate, except from electioneering handbills and quack-pensioned, clique-devoted newspapers—what can be more farcical or more dishonest? What other system could so effectually operate to place knaves in power, or to make the electors mere blind tools of the impudent and the venal?

§ 6. Conclusion.

As the question of remodelling our state constitution must be voted on at the state election of 1866, this treatise may prove a help toward the formation of a sound judgment on that occasion. I have confined myself to the A B C of political science, because that is the part which is most important and most neglected. In politics, as in arithmetic, a mistake at the start vitiates every subsequent process, and carries us farther and farther from our goal the longer it is persisted in.

Our past attempts at Democracy have resulted in the establishment of an obscene Rowdyarchy, with prodigious powers of taxation and public swindling. We began by confounding Equity with Equality. While it has pleased God to make all men individual and peculiar, and to confer special powers and obligations upon each, we have blindly followed a rhetorical misnomer, and outlawed the Divine Right of Superior Wisdom and Virtue. We have practically ignored God's system of order, and set up an antagonistic system of our own. The holy truth, that God regards and rewards all men *impartially*, has been twisted into a notion that 'all men are born *equal*,' and therefore sin against right whenever they raise themselves above any body, either in industry, or temperance, or modesty, or any other virtue. We have practically forbidden sincerity, and required all men to ape or follow the current lay-figure of Equality for the time being. We have made Equality a sort of moral swill-tub, into which all must be plunged without regard to age or sex, color or character ; and from which

he who goes in nastiest suffers least. Thus our past efforts to establish a Democracy, have only resulted in an Aristocracy of Baseness.

What we need to correct all this, is a Democracy true and genuine; a Man-Power that shall recognize the individuality of all who live under it, and encourage each to use *his own* reason and *his own* conscience; that shall take each man for what he actually *is*, and judge him according to his character and his works, without regard to any arbitrary test or fashionable standard;—a power whose great aim shall be, not to put all men in *the same* place, but to give each *his true* place—a man's true place being, always, the highest place in the universe *for him*.

Difficult as the establishment of such a Democracy may seem, all the laws of the moral world would favor it; Democracy being as natural to honest nations, as health to temperate individuals. There seems to have been a constant tendency toward a higher and more perfect order, in every department of nature, ever since the conquest of Chaos by Life and Order first began; and I see no ground for supposing that this tendency will be less potent in the industrial and political worlds, the present battle-ground, than it proved itself in the battles of the past. As the grosser elements of the universe progressed from the condition of vague nebulae upward and onward, gradually becoming classified and finding common centres of action and attraction, until they finally took on the form of suns and habitable worlds; so must the elements of human society, (wherein a yearning after true order has al-

ways been active, even when disorder was most manifest) at some time become classified and stratified *truly*;—when all arbitrary or aristocratic distinctions shall fade away, and the harmonies of heaven shall be swollen by a universal harmony of nations and of men—a concert, not of sounds, but of hearts, all vibrating with living emotions of love and joy. For as the primeval clashings of matter in the womb of Chaos were not owing to any inherent malignity of the discordant particles, but to the want of a present government capable of putting each in its true place and giving each its true work, so it is with regard to the discords of the social chaos of to-day. Men do not need to become great, either in power or in knowledge—they only need to be honest and modest—in order to enjoy the government, the protection, and the peace of God. Man may be likened to a globule or sphere, which, however small it may be, has all the properties of the largest; presenting a surface to, and reciprocating influences with, all other spheres in the universe, according to their respective natures, distances and magnitudes. When perfectly governed and purified, man's soul, like a dew-drop, can mirror, from its own peculiar standpoint, all the stars that shine above it, and send its aspirations to each. It can receive the thoughts and vibrate with the emotions of other souls every where—acting and reacting—maintaining its own dignity while yielding due reverence to theirs—breathing out a perpetual offering of love to all their excellences, especially to those most lacking in itself, and breathing in ex-

cellence, with a corresponding intensity, from every one of them in return.

Thus complete and admirable are the latent capacities of the human race for a true social order. Such will be the world of men, when men shall become altogether truthful and honest; when they shall put off all false seemings, and resist all false pretensions; when they shall give due honor to all superiority in goodness or in wisdom, and take all men, with all the laws, words and works of men, for exactly what they are. Did God endow us with such capacities for naught? Can we waste and abuse them for ever? Can we always follow after the base, and persist in wickedness, in spite of the ever-growing miseries which wickedness produces? If the reply be *Nay*, then a Perfect Democracy—a reign of True Manliness—a government of the Most Wise and Most Truthful—from being a mere aspiration of the few, will yet become a fact accomplished and patent to all men,—a fact that shall open heaven, and communion with the ripened honesty of heaven, to all the honest; and that shall make earth a part of heaven, governed by the same principles, the same laws, and the same God.

POSTSCRIPT.—(Feb. 1862.)

Perfection of FORM in a government avails naught, unless there also be a proper limitation of its POWERS. If unjust powers be given, the stronger the form the more potent it is for evil.

The greatest of the powers of government is *the power of its example*. As government wrongs or respects the rights of individuals, individuals wrong or respect one another. Compulsory taxes and illicit spoliation go together. Among our Iroquois, as they had no compulsory taxes laid by their government, they never thought of stealing from one another on private account. Who ever heard of the unguarded venison or other property of a Mohawk being stolen, unless by some government-plundered white man?

A full treasury, or an unlimited taxing-power, is a centre of attraction for the base and venal, and a potent means of trampling down honesty and destroying the honest.

THE CAUSE OF PARTIES.—When a government assumes or is entrusted with any *unjust power*, all the dishonest band together in order to seize it, and to make it work *for* instead of *against* their private interest. This point carried, as it is sure to be in the end, (for when the bone of contention is *the power to wrong the innocent*, the falsest and wickedest are certain to win) the victors form into Sub-Parties contending against each other for the spoils of the Producer, while still forming a Common Party against the Common Victim.

There are no parties or party strifes in heaven, because its government does not hold a single unjust power.

Even our New-York 'savages,' the Iroquois, were as exempt from parties as from the small-pox before their corruption by the whites. They

had differences of opinion, as they had differences of stature ; but they had no *combination* or *joint-stock* opinion. They were more erect and manly, both in body and in soul, (I knew their remnants when I was young) than we are. Their only social strifes were caused by strong drink, and even drunken quarrels were less common (though more deadly) among them than among us. Now, was this general exemption from faction and party caused by a private partiality of Nature for the red man, or was it caused by something else ?

I cannot imagine even a plausible answer to this question, save the one I have already given.

And what is the unjust power held by existing governments, that has engendered parties so base and ravenous as those now engaged in devouring their country's corpse ?

The TAXING POWER—the power of taking Labor's harvest without the Laborer's consent—the placing of A's property at the disposal of B and C ;—the error of allowing any one but A to put his hand into A's pocket.

Though Interests blend, Property is necessarily and eternally *individual*. Whether I own a thing solely or jointly, whatever I do own is solely *mine*. If other men can make my property theirs by any act of theirs, they can annihilate *me* by the same process ; and if they can do that, they can undo my Maker.

Notwithstanding the smallness of an atom's powers, the great globe itself cannot divest it of the least of its atomic properties or rights. Equally indestructible by governments are all the personal rights of man.

The power of the sword is quite enough for any government. The power of the purse belongs to the owner of the purse—to the earners of money individually. Thus held and diffused, it can work harm to none and good to all.

My fellow-citizens collectively have no more right to vote away *my* property, than has a highwayman acting singly ; 000000 being only 0.

Government can fix its fee-bill or list of prices if it choose ; the citizen can then choose whether he will or will not buy its merchandise.

The duty of government to strip the robber of his booty, is not a right of government to strip the laborer of his property by taxation.

The only true bond between sovereign and subject is THE MORAL TIE—the tie of mutual respect for the worth and the rights of each other. The citizen should respect government as the standard-bearer and champion of Public Justice, while government respects the citizen as a guest at God's table. Each should scorn to receive any but a free-will offering from the other. Each is degraded by every indignity that the other is subjected to.

A government so destitute of moral power that it cannot stand on the Voluntary Principle, does not deserve to stand. A people so destitute of moral sensibility that it will not support a faithful government *freely*, does not deserve one.

Now that the Revolution is come ; now that the Speculating Interest has fulfilled its destiny ; now that a New Order of Things is inevitable ; let our first step be, *to plant government on the moral plane, and to destroy its 'right' of plunder.*

ESSAY VI.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

EXTERNAL governments may be likened to the surgeon's tourniquets and bandages. They may help to check or alleviate certain evils, but they can never be blessings in themselves. External government, even in its best estate, is a good only so far as it paves the way for Self-Government; *i. e.*, for Voluntary Obedience to Reason, or True Freedom. As the true end of all learning is to qualify men to think for themselves, so the true end of external government is, to prepare men to go right and do right of their own free will.

Self-Government should not be confounded with self-gratification. To live under the domination of one's own self-will or appetites, may be freedom for the appetites but it is slavery for the Man. Man is free in proportion as his wish or will has God's power *for* it and not *against* it; that is, so far as he and his desires are in harmony with the Governing Power of the Universe, or with the laws of Nature or Divine Order; for, when such is the case perfectly, every fulfilment of the laws

of Nature, (which I take to be Infinite Volitions of the God of Nature) is a triumph for all whose delight it is to see those laws or volitions fulfilled. Thus, while the spirit of self-gratification subjugates all things to the ruling passion *pro tem.*, without regard to their nobleness or to its own vileness, Self-Government subordinates all the desires and powers of the soul according to their relative worth, making the heart a seat of order, a kingdom of righteousness, with the Will of God for its life and the Triumph of Right for its constant aim and glory. Self-Government, therefore, is nothing less than a process of self-humanization; a march from the Egypt of the animal senses and instincts to the Holy Land of Reason;* an emancipation of the soul from its thralldom to

* To define so subtle a thing as Reason and distinguish it from the mind's lower faculties is no easy task. The line of demarcation seems to me to be as follows: The Animal Senses are mere conductors of external forces or influences to the soul. They are rather machines than powers. The soul is moved through them, not by them. They stamp impressions of external things upon the mind as the printing-press transfers images of types to paper, but they cannot read the printed sheets. This is the office of Reason. Reason analyzes each phrase and letter, and determines, when a deep or exaggerated impression is made on the mind, whether it is owing to any inherent virtue of the thing impressed, or to some sleight of elocution or pressmanship, or to a morbid impressibility of the recipient organs. Sense presents the soul with Daguerreotypes of things; Reason, with the *meanings* of such pictures, their *relations*, and the *laws* which govern them—such meanings, relations and laws being purely spiritual in their nature, and transcending the objects of sense just as the thoughts and fancies of Shakspeare transcend the ink and paper used to transmit them.

matter, and an opening of the senses of the spirit to spiritual things.

The idea of Self-Government necessarily implies two things: first, an element within the Self that requires to be governed; and secondly, a power within the Self whereby its government can be effected. But experience shows that this is not the case with all men, nor with any man at all stages of his growth. There are millions of the human family, at all times, in whom the power of Self-Government exists only in a latent state, and not one, probably, in whom it is all-sufficient, or perfect. Anterior to his conception or first life-impulse, man (if *man* we may call him) exists as an egg only, or in the elemental state, without any discernible power of self-motion. The process of conception imbues him with certain human capacities and beginnings of life, and the nerves and blood of the mother slowly increase or unfold them, until the physical part of the embryo is provided with nerves and muscles of its own, and the spiritual part with the powers of vital attraction and feeling. Thus is our life kindled by external action, or force, before it can manifest any internal energy whatever. We must be long and strongly acted on by things external, before we show any power of reacting on the external, or can wield much control over external things. The senses must long transmit ideas and impressions to the mind—must, as it were, build up the reasoning faculty—before the reason can have any power to act, or any thing within its reach to act on; for reason is an eye so spiritually endowed, that it can only see the

spirit of the things which the animal senses discern in their grossness. For example, while it is the nature of the physical eye to image the sun, and to hold up its image for the perusal of reason, the eye of reason can only see portions of the wisdom and meaning embodied in the sun, or its *uses* and *relations*. Reason is as blind to dead matter apart from its *meaning*, as was the eye of Newton's dog to the abstract *ideas* contained in Newton's writings.

Of the two parts of man's nature above spoken of, (the positive and the passive, or the governing and the governable) the latter is possessed in great fulness, if not perfectly, anterior to his birth; while the reasoning or governing faculty does not appear, even in its beginnings, until after the sensitive nature has spent months in the school of experience. So far from having any power of choice or self-government, the human embryo is a mere receiver and retainer of foreign forces and emotions, such as the propensities of the father and the longings and antipathies of the mother; the degree in which it receives and retains these depending, mainly, upon the stress or violence wherewith they are forced upon it. It is only by imperceptible degrees that the child acquires any power to think for itself, or to judge and love things according to their fitness and true worth. Self-Government, therefore, is not a determinate prerogative to be assumed in its fulness and at once, but an energy to be acquired—a wisdom to be learnt—a growing power, to be exercised according to the measure of its growth. Whenever more than this

is attempted, the result is Self-Conceit merely ; an abortion which usurps the place and sucks out the life of Reason, employing the soul's governing powers to its misgovernment, and to the prevention of its progress.

The grand difference between man and beast is, that the former does, and the latter does not, possess the power of governing Passion by Wisdom. The action of the brute, when left to itself, is governed, not by thought, but by appetite—not by that which is important, but that which is importunate. It does not ask whether the gratification of an impulse would be wise in the long run, nor whether it would be right, but whether the means of gratification are at hand. A horse will trample its last lock of hay under foot, even when on ship-board, regardless of the needs of its fellows and the wants of to-morrow. Having no far-sighted governing power within itself, the brute is therefore not only benefited but elevated by a permanent subjection to man, provided his master *be* a man. But, with the members of the human family, (its more advanced races at least) the case is different. Each one has a faculty higher than brute instinct or appetite, whose nature it is *to judge* and *to govern*, as it is the eye's nature to see ; and which, if it be not permitted to govern the appetites and passions, has no use. This faculty it is, as we have just said, which makes man more than a brute ; which elevates him to the rational plane ; which opens to him the essences and meanings of things, enabling him to see abstract truths, principles and laws ; and which capacitates him for being a rational

and a loving communicant with all truth-seers, with angels, and even with God. Obedience to the decisions of this faculty, (which never makes a decision except as it has the ability to decide truly) is what constitutes Self-Government; and it constitutes Rationality and Freedom also.— Even the beasts, who can never acquire nor comprehend Human Reason, become half-humanized by learning to obey its possessors.

Men often fancy that they have submitted to Reason, when they have only passed from one extreme to another; as, when the spendthrift has turned extortioner and miser; or, when the sensualist has turned religious dogmatist or fanatic. Hence, it is well to have a test whereby to distinguish Reason from all the powers that counterfeit its appearance or usurp its place. It is, simply, *the sense and the might of Truth*.^{*} It never vociferates nor exaggerates. Though men's attention to its decisions may vary, and so produce a seeming variation in their force, its voice and power are as fixed and calm as the gravitation of the stars; swaying minutest things as carefully as if they were universes, and universes with as little fuss as atoms. It has but one language, that of exactness, and can utter only one thing, The Truth. True Reason never resorts to threats, nor to persuasions: its nobleness is so pure that it need put on no terrors to inspire respect, and it has too much regard for the freedom of man's will, to seek to bend it even for his

^{*} Reason is both receptive and creative. When receptive, it is a sense; when creative or projective, it is the body of The Power, if not The Power itself.

own salvation ; yet no one can neglect or resist its mild voice without inflicting on himself, in exact accordance with the measure of his guilt, a punishment whose justice is perfect, viz. SELF-DEPRIVATION OF THE LIGHT OF REASON. Thus perfect, thus immoveable, is the Rightful Governor of man. "In the beginning was Reason—and Reason was with God—and Reason was God."

Men may be rational without possessing Reason in its fulness, as they may have sense and perception without perceiving all things. The mere aspiration toward wisdom or rationality—the bare praying for light—is a perfectly rational and rationalizing process for the man who can do no more ; as the study of the alphabet is a true educational process for those who have not learnt the alphabet, and who intend to make their knowledge of it a stepping-stone to something higher. Finite Reason is always nascent, always needing help, always benefited by using the help it needs—and always injured by unnecessary help, or help that prevents it from putting forth and thus expanding its actual powers. While it permits every one to use crutches to a certain extent, it does not allow us to lean upon them too long or too heavily, nor to convert the best crutches imaginable into permanent substitutes for legs.—While it tolerates conventional laws, and will-influence or slavery, both in government and religion, to a certain extent, requiring more or less submission thereto from every man while on his way to manhood, Reason protests against all attempts of Scribes and Pharisees to make such

slavery permanent, and to restrain men from following its own perfect guidance so far as their eyes may be opened.

The question as to how far any person or people may be fit for self-government, is an ever-pressing practical problem that admits of no final or mathematical solution ; because persons and nations are not stationary abstractions, but living growths, and every change in the elements and conditions of the problem changes the problem. Experience, honesty, the habit of taking things for what they are, willingness to learn, and power of putting one's learning to practical use—these are the cardinal requisites ; and a man's fitness to guide himself by his own reason, depends on the degree in which he may possess them.

Nothing can be more conducive to the power of Self-Government, than a clear understanding of the powers and weaknesses which operate against it. If we take the word in its literal sense, and reduce the Self to a single element, no such thing is possible. It is as impossible for any power to govern itself as it is for the eye to see itself, or for a stone to lift itself. No power can be governed except by a greater or a more strongly exercised power, or else by a power that can reach it through the inspiration of love. Even God himself would be incapable of Self-Government if the Divine Self were but a single element—if he had not both a head and a heart—his head the embodiment or Life-Centre of The True, and his heart of The Good or The Right ; each perpetually drawing and imparting itself to the other in love, and thus involuntarily gov-

erning while it is governed by the other. Now, if it be true that God made man in his own image, human Self-Government must be similar in its nature: it must involve not only a subordination of the meaner passions to the nobler, but a constant surrender of all passion to Reason—a perpetual ascent toward Perfection under the guidance of Reason, and under the inspiration of Love.

One great hindrance to the growth and rule of the Human Reason is, the crushing influence of various psychical forces to which it is early subjected, and which the infant reason can neither master nor comprehend; such as, the nightmare of Habit; dead Conventionalisms and Traditions with their corpse-like powers; and mesmeric transfusions of disturbing passions and false ideas by dint of oratory, vain repetition and whorish impudence. That well-disposed minds can be dwarfed, distorted and enslaved by these processes, millions of quacks have ever given the whole world constant proofs.

While Reason is the rightful ruler of all things, it can only govern itself as the eye sees itself, 'by reflection.' It always requires something outside of itself to set it in motion, even when years of activity have ripened its powers. This something is, in all cases, either the senses or the desires. The desires of the heart are to the Reason what the desires of the wife are to the husband, powerfully stimulating if not always controlling powers. All that Human Reason can do toward its own true government is, to harmonize itself, and its sense of The True, with its

co-ordinate faculty, Conscience or the sense of The Right, and let the twain make one flesh. It is only through a marriage of this sort within the soul, (the Conscience breathing itself into and involuntarily swaying while vivifying the Reason, the Reason flowing into and illuminating the Conscience) that any man can become truly rational, or religious, or good.

The natural fitness of Reason and Conscience—The True and The Right—to aid and govern each other, and the necessity of a perfect union or co-life between them to the sanity of the soul, are matters most profound and important. It is only as these things are understood, that Self-Government can be established—that disorder can be made to cease—that freedom can become universal.

When a man's Reason becomes separated from his Conscience, or it is inspired by a vicious and fallen Conscience, mental insanity ensues. An act is not necessarily sane and rational because it is brought forth from the reasoning faculties, no matter how brilliant their action may appear. No act of the mind is truly rational if it spring from an irrational desire, or if it aim at an irrational object. The means may be ever so well adapted to the end in view, yet, if the end be worthless, the pursuit of it must be irrational and the pursuer insane. The worst insanity is that which prostitutes noble powers to base or silly purposes; the pursuit of silly ends by silly means being not so much insanity as folly. . . . Reason, therefore, can never act from unholy promptings without ceasing to be Reason; and

though the world has always abounded with, and too often run after, talented scoundrels, there never yet was a brilliant rogue or hypocrite who was not crazy, on one side of his character, at least, from the time he parted with his honesty till he resumed it again.

Such is the nature of Reason that it cannot be true to the Will—the love-element of the soul—any more than to itself, except by constant loyalty to THE GREATEST GOOD. It must give the greatest good the highest place, and every lesser good a place according to its degree, under penalty of degenerating into unreason, falsehood and folly. Its first work, therefore, necessarily is, to strengthen the religious sentiment; to accept, and to reciprocate by diffusion, the love of God, as the most precious of all things; then, to acquire such virtues as are most becoming to the possessor and most useful to others, and assimilate them by practice; giving to each capacity, duty, and thing, its just meed; neither grasping after powers for which it is unfit, nor allowing any talent that it has to be useless. No man can be truly rational without being orderly—without entering into and diffusing the spirit of peace and good will—without subordinating folly to wisdom, money to right, pride to goodness, things transient to things lasting.

The greatest of all earthly aids or hindrances to a true Self-Government is Marriage. He who weds a woman of purer heart and finer sensibilities than his own, places his Reason under an influence or inspiration that will both increase and exalt its powers; while its reaction upon her

will constantly enlarge her views and ennoble her sympathies. Our present monstrous social inequalities operate to render true marriage very difficult among us, if not absolutely impossible; for marriage cannot cement dishonesty, and there cannot be honest hearts except as there are honest lives. As the industrial world is now misgoverned, almost every man who enters it must submit to so much wrong and falsehood, that he can seldom support a family of his own without practising the wrongs he suffers. He who pays usury and increase, must exact usury and increase. He who pays wages to men for God's work, must make others commit the same blasphemy for his emolument when he can. And, while men thus sin from necessity, woman's influence generally goes to sanction if not to encourage the sin, for she cannot permit the pursuit of righteousness (especially on week-days) to interfere with the more pressing necessity for ready money. In the dearth of sincere and natural enjoyments, she encourages false pleasures, and too often subordinates the moral nature to the imaginative and the sensuous. Even 'good' women are so perverted by the errors and evils which come down to them from former generations, that they rather seek to palliate and to elaborate happiness from established wrongs, than to cheer the heroism which honestly wars against them. Pure as woman's sympathies are in themselves, they cannot be misdirected, nor allowed to palliate evil any where, without enfeebling the reason of man, and aggravating that general moral insanity which is at the bottom of all other

disease and madness. But I will not dwell on evils and evil tendencies which homilies assail in vain.

The time will come, however, when heaven's justice shall be strong enough on earth to govern human governments; when Nature's revenge against wrong shall suffice to restrain wrong; when no privileged idlers shall set up toll-gates on the highway of industry, or levy black-mail upon the sons of toil; when the slavery of poverty shall cease, and universal plenty shall enable civilized men, equally with savages, to marry as Reason and Nature dictate. Then, the training of youth for marriage and its duties will be the leading branch of youthful education, and a wise marriage the highest object of human ambition—an object which men will not expect to attain by going through a ceremony, nor by aught less than the living of a marriage-worthy life. Then will the individual and the race enter upon a new destiny. All the sense and sensibility of woman, all the purity of her love for the good and the beautiful, all the strength of her love for man and manly virtue, will go to vivify the Reason of man, and to strengthen it as God's Vicegerent over all things earthly—as an emanation and a power of God, ever leading the soul up to him, as sun-beams lead to the sun. And then, too, will the strength of the manly intellect diffuse itself through the heart of the wife, as light pervades the diamond; guiding every tendril to its own true resting-place; lifting all its affections above the mire of selfishness, yet leaving them to fling a charm over her self-hood, as flowers

beautify and purify the ground. Then there will be no more discord on the earth ; Reason will be true to Conscience every where, and Conscience true to Reason ; all doubts and delusions will vanish from men's souls, like darkness at the coming of morning ; and Order will be universal, not as a forced product of dictation, bribery and violence, but as a necessary consequence of universal justice and virtuous love.

It is certainly possible—yea, easy—for heaven to thus come down to men. Heaven is that state of genuine happiness which never palls, the state of loving, doing, being, RIGHT. Men need not think to win it by vicarious honesty, nor by laying off their bodies, nor by any thing less than the personal practice of the human virtues.—Heaven, glorious as it is, is less glorious than virtue—is but the halo which surrounds it. . . . And virtue is a prize that may be won by the weak as easily as by the strong ; a jewel that specially courts the acceptance of the humble. God himself seeks to send it to us by every honest man : God himself seeks to send it to us by every noble memory : God himself seeks to press it upon us by his own perfect example. Who will accept God's key to happiness ? Who will open his heart to heaven ?

ESSAY VII.

THE DOMINION OF BRIBERY; OR, THE KING- DOM OF MAMMON.

MAN's natural motive-power is within himself, and is spiritual. Considered generically, it is his Love; specifically, his Will, or his strongest desire; a man's Will being the verdict of his Love after it has been impregnated by the Intellect or observing faculty. All the actions of man, were he free from external corruptions, compulsions and restraints, would be the simple and sincere expressions of his heart; i. e., they would be the inspired manifestations or procreations of his truth-wedded Life-Substance, or Love. He would spontaneously and constantly gravitate toward the infinite Life-Center, draw inspiration from all the forms of life above him, and emit the same spirit of love and good will to all the forms around and beneath.

If proof of this position be demanded, I refer the questioner to any infant, or to Infancy in general. The new-born child, so far as its voluntary nature or organism is concerned, never moves a muscle only as it is impelled to do so by some inborn wish, and never represses an act or motion which it is impelled by its innate wishes to

perform. It has no conception of slavery or constraint, of hypocrisy or lying, nor of social isolation or inferiority. It can look on tyrants without fear, on angels without awe, on beasts without insolence. So far as it is in health, it knows no evil. To the healthy infant, as to God, all things are 'very good.'

Bribery, as I understand the word, is a general name for all devices and efforts having for their object the subversion or suppression of this Natural Order—the order of Freedom, or of unforced Love—and the subjugation of individuals to foreign or unsympathising wills by working externally on either their hopes or their fears. I apply the word Bribery to all processes, whether coercive or seductive, whereby men or things are made to pass for more than they are, or whereby the dishonest array men's present wants and interests against their manliness and sincerity. As Idolatry consists in mentally putting any thing less than God into God's place, so Mammonism or Bribery consists in subverting the authority of Reason and Conscience over men by operating on their lower passions; no matter whether the means employed be a purse or a sword, nor whether the corrupter of men offer them money which they have no moral right to take, or threaten to strip them of money that is honestly their own. Philosophically speaking, Bribery includes every form of Mammonism or Corruption; every substitution of arbitrary rewards and penalties for Nature's rewards and penalties; every device for impairing the right of private judgment, or for converting rational

men into machines impelled by an alien and a selfish will, either through intimidation or seduction. For I hold that Bribery, in all cases, takes its essential character from the end which it aims at, not from the means which it employs.

No one can obtain a distinct vision of, and coolly contemplate, the end which Bribery aims at, without being surprised at the enormity of that end, and the infinitude of wickedness and blasphemy which it involves. To resort to Bribery, or seduction and intimidation, as a means of swaying one's fellow-men, is nothing less than a practical declaration of war against the Maker and Ruler of the Universe; an assault upon the system of eternal order and harmony established by Almighty God!

The questions here naturally arise, How is it possible for human imbecility to commit so great a wrong? How is it that so great a wrong can even seem to triumph?

To the first of these queries I reply, that the weaker or sillier a man may be, the greater is his power of missing the mark, and especially his power of missing The Right.

As to the seeming triumphs of weakness and corruption—of the disorder of Mammon over the order of God—they exist only in the crazed imaginations of the dishonest. To leap from the strong tower of Right, is not a triumph over the tower, but a fall for the intoxicated fool who sets Right at defiance. His momentary feelings of triumph, are but the first fruits of his self-induced moral blindness, which renders him too stupid to comprehend God's justice, or to trace back

all his manifold miseries to the sins whence they were severally born. Men who, by sinning against reason and the laws of life, derange their physical senses, make themselves subject to physical illusions ; and, by committing the same sins on the moral plane, they obtain moral insanity as their reward, and fancy themselves triumphant over the power and the order of God. —May God help them !—But how *can* the ever-truthful, freedom-respecting God, help poor creatures who will only open their eyes to darkness and their ears to lies ? Neither God nor his lovers can stoop to Bribery ; and the children of corruption will yield to nothing else.

There is this great general difference between Bribes, or Arbitrary Inducements, and Natural Rewards, viz. : The former distinctly exhibit all their desirable qualities to the imagination and the senses, and exhibit them all at once ; while Nature delights in hiding the preciousness of her rewards, and often puts the most untempting face possible upon the blessings which she proffers. Nature never flatters her servants, nor those whom she serves ; and never palliates the sacrifices of pride, and ease, and popularity, which she requires from them. While the dispenser of bribes offers wealth and conventional dignities cheap, conferring the unjust possession of riches upon thieves, and the show of honors upon cheats and blasphemers, Nature reserves her prizes for those who do genuine work, and who dare to sacrifice themselves, if need be, in conforming to her system of truth and justice. She aims, not to dazzle the vain, but to bless

the true; and she is content to bless them in silence. She even allows those who serve her truly—who do battle with the cheats and wrongs of to-day instead of the cheats and wrongs that are obsolete or afar off—to be seemingly rewarded, for a time, with poverty and contempt, or with popular execration and crucifixion. But the desolation of Truth's servants or obeyers is never more than seeming, and is only for a time. From every despised or evil-requited labor their arms acquire an increase of strength, or their souls an increase of fortitude and self-reliance. Every pain and indignity that is forced upon them by Truth's enemies, temporarily burning into their wounded spirits, leaves behind it a glow of heavenly peace, and establishes the soul in powers, and joys, and honors, that endure for ever. Who can doubt that Socrates, for example, derives manifold and eternal benefits from the wrongs done him by his persecutors, or that their cup of poison was a strengthener of his real self, a potent invigorator of his spirit's immortality and life? The howling storm that shakes the true man's branches silently strengthens his roots, adding years to the life of his trunk by taking moments from the life of his foliage.

Mammon—to adopt the word used by Jesus to designate the principle of Arbitrary Rewards or the power of Bribery—Mammon deludes his vassals with proffers of instantaneous, unmixed happiness. He proclaims that his gifts are perfect; that men have only to do fealty to him, to entitle themselves to sit down and enjoy; that his roses are without thorns; that his riches cost

no toil, except to the poor wretches from whom they are taken. He thus makes them drunk with insane expectations at the very start, carries them out of the sober realm of Truth, and, by adapting his lies and enchantments to their cupidities, makes them his slaves; slaves ever ready to debauch or to persecute in other men the innocence and the manliness which they have ruined in themselves. But Nature, on the contrary, as we have said before, has no brilliant promises to make. She is as miserly in professions as she is bountiful in deeds. Her rewards come in little by little, day after day, and, for the most part, disregarded or misunderstood.—He who goes to Nature for bread, must first cast his bread upon the waters; or, to speak literally, cast his seed upon the ground. He who goes to Nature for rest, must first aim at something higher, and qualify himself for rest by doing the work that belongs to him faithfully. Nature begins every gift with an exaction from the beneficiary; and she invariably dictates her own terms, without regard to human expectations or to seeming precedents of her own. The farmer who trusts his seeds to her bosom, is sure only that they are lost to him;—he has no certainty that they will germinate and ripen, or that he shall live to reap the increase. Yet she usually gives him the thing that he asks for, and always more than he thinks of asking. While he is repining at the irksomeness of his toils, Nature is endowing him with hardihood and strength.—While he is complaining of solitude and pining under a fancied dearth of excitement, she admits

him to her own sweet communion, and performs her most wonderful processes continually before his eyes. While he is rooting out the weeds, intent on corn only, she is silently fanning him with healthful breezes, and strengthening his hold on life. She sends him tiny increments of good in a thousand ways—by the birds that sing in the woods, by the rain-drops that water his fields, by the blossoms that cover his orchard, by the clouds that soften his landscape. She surrounds the faithful husbandman with an atmosphere of blessedness, so that he cannot help breathing in some good whenever he opens his heart. Nor do the goods that she gives perish in the using. The toils and trials of Burns's youth, qualified him to become a cheerer and ennobler of true men in his manhood. Franklin's early poverty taught him persistent labor; work taught him wisdom; wisdom taught him how to triumph over death, to break the isolation of the grave, and to make the generations of the past and the generation of to-day a vast indivisible family, one in interest and feeling as well as in blood. Thus do the undervalued or unnoticed blessings which Nature confers upon her faithful servant to-day, prove the germs of mighty world-filling blessings in future days, or essential links in a chain of potencies and causes that embraces all things and all ages.

Having shown, even in these brief sentences, that Bribery, or the system of arbitrary rewards, can never work well; that the wages of Mammon are very much (words cannot express how much) inferior to the wages of God; let us now

consider the growth and extent of Mammon's kingdom here on earth, and calculate its probable duration.

All mistakes of evil for good, and of lesser goods for greater, have their origin in lack of experience, or of wisdom; a foundation which every day's rational experience helps to crumble. Simple errors, which affect their victim immediately, and disclose their character by their fruits before they have time take deep root—such as the common notion among infants, that flame, so beautiful to the sight, would be pleasant to the taste and touch also—are very soon exploded; but errors that are intricate and complex—that have been assiduously planted and watered in infancy, and passed down from generation to generation—can never be uprooted in a day.—The youth cannot analyze and condemn an error which his fathers have received with reverence, without practically condemning them for negligence and dishonesty, and so giving mortal offence to their self-love; an offence that is pretty sure to be punished by hatred and persecution in some shape, if not by death. Thus there grows up a class of 'sacred' errors, such as the various conventional or priest-made religions of the east—errors which must not be exposed, even when they are seen through—and which, therefore, can infuse their rottenness into the souls of entire nations of unmanned bipeds for thousands of years. For whenever a lie or an error, no matter how groundless and absurd it may be, is honorably embalmed and placed beyond the sacrilegious touch of reason—when a fancied truth

is made so 'sacred' that God's every-day truths lose all *their sacredness* in the sight of its votaries, and are deemed profane or unclean—time makes no impression on its worthless form, and it can laugh at Honesty, just as ice well sheltered can despise the sun. Hence it is that religion, or what men call 'religion,' has given birth and permanence to more errors, and worse errors, than all other sciences and studies put together; and that Mammon seems to be strongest and most impudent when he betakes himself to 'the house of God.' (The *true* God cannot possibly get into a house that is smaller than the universe; and the loving heart is his only altar.)

As religion is by far the most important of all subjects known to man; as there is no hope of individuals or of nations ever becoming much better than their 'religions,' or more honest and humane than their gods; and as there is no other subject or science wherein Bribery, or extraneous and illegitimate influences, have done so much harm; I will endeavor to search out and expose the beginnings of 'religious' error. I hold that there are no *necessary* errors in religion, any more than in mathematics—error being but the passing off or else the receiving of assertions, guesses, or pretended knowledges, for more than they really are;—and that all the errors of human religions are indebted to Bribery or extrinsic force for their perpetuity and transmission, if not for their origination. If, in matters of religion, there were no greater inducements for a man to pretend to know or think what he does not, than there are in matters of geometry,

and if false pretensions and errors in the former were not, any more than in geometry, protected by a sham sacredness from exposure and contempt, the world would be as free from religious as from mathematical controversies and errors. But men's religious cravings are often very strong while their intellectual powers are but feeble or slothful : to allay these cravings, and quiet their curiosity, men would sometimes permit conjecture to take the place of observation and rational induction, and positiveness to pass for proof. A wrong course being thus entered upon, all progress became not a drawing toward but a departure from The Truth ; and Reason, therefore, would tend to unsettle and displace instead of strengthening men's religious ideas. Hence Reason was forced to become a parasite and defender of Unreason, under penalty of a perpetual exclusion from the religious field ; and Religion, instead of being sacred to Reason and from Impudence, became sacred from Reason and to Impudence.

I am aware that men do not generally consider the power of Bribery or Mammon over matters of religion, to be so great as I represent ; but how else can they account for the multiplicity of conflicting ' religions,' or the long endurance of so many ' religious' absurdities and errors ? Is Truth a serpent with a double tongue ? Is not Mahometanism just as true in Rome as in Mecca ? How comes it, then, that all can see or pretend to see the inspiration of Mahomet and the divinity of his system in Mecca, while Roman eyes can see only blasphemy in the system and

imposture in the man? And the doctrine of the transmigration of souls—if it be true, why cannot its truth be seen and demonstrated here as well as in the East Indies? . . . The fact is, that different ages and nations have crammed different guesses and fancies upon the religious faculty by outside pressure, and have different ways of cheating and scaring it; but no sect or church ever satisfied it truly, save the unvalled church of the modest and the pure in heart—the self-sustaining, unpretending minders of their own business. All other churches, I suspect, are mere conventionalisms and works of art. .

In considering Bribery as a system of Psycho-Dynamics, having the subjection of God's order to private selfishness for its end, and Arbitrary Temptations or Inducements for its means, we find that its field is co-extensive with the range of mortal wants, and that it may employ as many methods or modes of action as there are passions in the human heart. The bestowal of money or unearned riches is but one of these methods; the most simple and palpable, perhaps, of them all, but not the most effective. Money, in its best estate, is but a metal gathered from the ground, and has no life that the human senses can detect, or that man's life can consciously absorb. Like the counters used by gamblers, money has little power over those who do not play for money, but who aim to live by useful work. The seeming power of money over men is, in fact, only the weakness which false ideas concerning money cause in men. But human love, or fellowship, or sympathy, has a power that is real. No man

can live without it. Unless he inhale it every moment, either from men in the body or from spirits whose earthly bodies have been cast off, he becomes like a solitary brand on the hearth, and soon dies out. Human sympathy, therefore, is the primal necessary of human life. Each man requires it from all men to make his happiness perfect. A small clique or combination of persons can, therefore, by uniting themselves, and loving or hating in concert, exert a mighty influence, especially upon the weak and tender. No man, unless sustained by the sympathy of a set or class, or upheld by spiritual influx, can long bear up against organized enemies and concerted or sectarian malice. And it is mainly by the employment of combined influence against the inner promptings of the soul—by the practice of loving and hating in mobs or gangs—that individuals are perverted and corrupted. It is mainly by bringing this poisoned weapon to bear against the right of private judgment, that Mahometanism is built up in one country, Mormonism in another, and Pharisaism in all. No man or child can make his peace with the orthodoxy, or fashion, or ruling *ism*, of his neighborhood, except by joining its ranks, and conniving at the attempts of its plotters and leaders against the freedom of others. Thus every party and sect has a constant tendency to enlarge itself, and to diminish the numbers of the innocent and manly, so long as there are any more true men to conquer.—And there is a constant tendency, on the part of the sect or party that is most impudent and unscrupulous *pro tem.*, to victimise the weaker sects

also.. Nature has but one law for all growths, whether they be natural or artificial—whether of God or man. They all must either increase or diminish; either grow, or subserve the growth of others.

The cardinal difference between Bribery and Reciprocity or true Human Love, is this: Bribery meddles and suborns without designing to elevate or to serve; while Love elevates and ministers to its object, without desiring to meddle or to suborn. Love proffers real goods for the benefit of the receiver, leaving the receiver free to reject them if distasteful, and free to enjoy them in his own way. Mammon, on the contrary, proffers fictitious or stolen goods for the gain of the giver, or merely as a means of enslaving the receiver; and he employs injuries, or the fear of injury, in place of such goods, so far as he can make them serve his turn. I need not say that the true Religionist does not belong to the latter class, the class of Corruptionists or Tyrants. He truly sets forth what his thoughts and convictions are, without assuming to dictate what any listener's thoughts and convictions shall be. He can state what is the weight of a given creed or proposition according to his judgment, without thrusting his hand upon his neighbor's scales when it is weighed by him, and without any disposition to make his neighbor profess to see more worth in the thing weighed than he can really discern. He can place his diamonds before men's eyes without trying to force them into men's eyes. The true Religionist has due tenderness even for the basest. He can suffer

sore eyes to shrink from the light, and rottenness to shrink from the truth; but he cannot let rottenness make him false to known truths, or prevent him from preaching *The Right by doing it*—the only preaching that truly benefits men, or that Jesus ever instituted; for, in telling his disciples to proclaim what they had personally seen and heard, he certainly did not institute a standing-army of sectarian drummers to prate by the hour about things that *they* had not seen, and of which they could, at best, have but a second-hand or traditional knowledge.

The notion of the ancient Pharisees, that Religion needs professional priests to implant it and sectarian machinery to keep it up, is still common enough to deserve a refutation; though it is also so 'sacred,' that none but the brave will dare to listen. The *true* Religion consists in loving excellence and doing right; and they who *practise* it are its true and only priests. God never designed that Religion should be, or furnish the basis for, a trade. Christ never argued or bored the truth into men, but simply stated it as it appeared to him, and left it to speak for itself. The orator who causes men to feign, or to fancy that they have, more faith in a creed or doctrine than they really feel, is not a minister of Religion, but a maker of hypocrites. Professional talkers, like professional rope-dancers and jugglers, have entertained the world by doing unnatural or difficult things much more than they have served it by doing useful things. They have obstructed men in the exercise of their thinking powers and their common sense, thus

enslaving the timid and giving perpetuity to falsehood. Now God has endowed all men with religious faculties, just as he endows all with eyes ; and each must get the light of heaven by the culture and use of his own religious organism, or go without. God no more intended that A should cultivate his religious faculties for B's illumination, than that he should eat his meals for B's nutrition. Both A and B are morally bound to cultivate all their faculties, the religious faculty inclusive, according to their respective means and occasions ; and B is as much obligated to teach religion to A, as is A to B. The right to teach is, in all cases, simply the right of a man to state what he knows upon a given topic, when another needs his knowledge and is likely to make a good use of it. No class of men have stood so much in the way of the world's knowledge as its professional teachers, because no other class have done so much to divert it from the true teacher, Practice. Christ was not a professional teacher of religion, throwing the burden of his support upon others, and so diminishing their leisure for study, but a *practiser*, who, careful as he was of The Truth, never thought enough of his *words* to write them down, except once, when he wrote with his finger on the ground. The only way in which I can help my neighbor in his religion, is to be true to my own. The relationship between man and God may be likened to that which exists between the atoms of our world and its Center of Gravity : so long as each atom keeps its own place, and its own true direction, it helps to steady all the atoms behind it,

without giving any thought to the matter. The converse is equally true : if a man leave his own place and work, under any pretext whatsoever, he exerts a confusing influence upon all to whom his influence extends.

It may be said by some, that Religion is an exception to the general rule ; that it is a matter of inspiration, with which Reason ought never to meddle. Sophistry ! Reason is as divine, as truly a lamp of God, as Inspiration ; and its light is certainly not less steady or more confined. Reason can weigh and measure the stars ; and, though men attempting to reason can fail to reason correctly, (there can be false or impure Inspirations also) Reason never lies or mistakes. They who would divorce Inspiration from Reason, wrong them both ; and, to make Inspiration dependant on uninspired teachers for its influence, is to bring it into contempt. It is a faculty which exists in some degree wherever Life exists—on the animal, the intellectual, and the heavenly planes. It is a flower of the soul, which pulpit mesmerisers and sectarian gladiators ought not to tamper with ; an *Æolian* harp, whose strings should be sacred to the breathings of angels. So far as Religion may be a matter of inspiration, it should be left to the inspired ; and it is nothing short of blasphemy to tempt men, by mercenary and honorary inducements, to wag their tongues concerning things divine.

I hold that Religion ought to be not only a sacred but an exact science. This is possible, because its laws or principles are fixed ; and it is just as easy to stick to certainties, to confine

oneself to the exact truth, and to abstain from false pretensions, in all matters of Religion, as it is in matters of Arithmetic. Geometry is an exact science, not because its laws are more firm than those of Religion, but because geometricians reason righteously, and are as ready to give proofs as to ask credence ; while theologians are not. It is an exact science, simply because its professors state the knowledge which they actually have with exactness.

In presenting these views, and in avowing my belief that all our errors of religion are caused by Bribery, or the subornation and consequent prostitution of the religious faculty through the operation of illegitimate influences, and not through any inherent fault in the faculty or in its Divine Author, I merely give an honest statement of my own conclusions, without seeking to force them upon any one. I can do the world no harm by setting it an example of truthfulness ; and the reader can do no harm by giving an example of charity, even though he should deem my conclusions wrong. If wrong, the labor necessary to prove them so will strengthen him who performs it ; and my thoughts will thus indirectly occasion some good, though they should not be good in themselves. But the idea of making Religion an exact science, resting solely on PROOF, is not false nor worthless. We have one sure and scientific key to a perfect knowledge of the character of God. His *works* are all before us, and we have only to read them truly in order to know him truly ; not alone his power, but his meaning and design. There can

be no question as to the genuineness of the Milky-Way, or of the sun, or of Saturn, or of the crust of our own globe, with its fossil annotations.—Every page we open proves one great leading idea to be constantly present in the Author's mind, viz., *the formation of an endless number of immortal souls, each possessing unlimited powers of growth, of communion, of enjoyment.* He has endowed these souls with a capacity to understand his ideas and emotions, by a proper study of his work-language or works, quite as well as a child can understand its earthly father; thus qualifying them to be perpetual collectors and repositories of a wisdom that is infinite. He has also endowed them with a capacity to feel his goodness in proportion to their own, or to the goodness of their hearts and lives. And he certainly cannot have endowed any soul with such glorious capacities, without knowing the latent preciousness of the thing that he has made, or begotten, and loving it accordingly. To suppose that he does not feel the worth of every soul he has begotten quite as strongly as beasts feel the value of their young, is to make God less sensible than a beast. We may be certain, therefore, that he loves every soul in the universe, according to the extent of his own agency in its causation,—according to the measure of excellence that it has attained or aspired to,—and according to the goodness that it is capable of, or destined to attain. God would do all this if he were a mere man: He cannot do less than this if he be higher than man. The cord of love, or bond of religion, therefore, must be strong enough, and

real enough, at God's end of it, to bear the weight of any man for ever. God's love is sure, and cannot be shaken. It is only necessary to kindle a corresponding love in Man, in order to make the tie perfect. The kindling process must be effected by real fire. Priestly bellowses and blowers cannot kindle a lamp; but they can sometimes blow it out, and so produce lamp-smoke in the place of light. Therefore, instead of assuming to help God, we ought to help the weak, and be modest.

That there is no genuine Religion, or tie between God and Man, save Love—the Love of God;—that all Love is a matter of the closet and the heart, needing no go-betweens or external aids, which only tempt to prostitution when they tempt at all;—that God's Love embraces every one of his children already, who must accept and reciprocate it, each for himself, or get no sensible benefit from it;—that, as all artificial love and truth are falsehoods, so all artificial Religion, or Love for God that is not inspired by God's own qualities, is idolatrous;—that the *true* God is not a choleric despot, with one eye on the contribution-box, but a tender Father, to be intimately known and loved;—that Jesus of Nazareth, for asserting these ideas in opposition to the Machine-Religion of the Pharisees, was branded with blasphemy and put to death;—these are points which I submit to the conscience of the reader without argument, and proceed to another branch of my subject, viz., the corruptions which Mammonism has wrought in the Republic of Letters. . . . I hardly know of a book that speaks the author's mind

without reserve or disguise, or that does not aim to impress the reader with an exaggerated idea of the author's wisdom, or to please some patron or favorite class, more than it aims to present the truth fairly.* In feudal times, no book could succeed that did not please the aristocracy, or the hierarchy, or both; and no author can get a publisher now even, unless he falls in with the interests and passions, prejudices and antipathies, of some influential party, class or sect.—A public writer can no more get a living by being wholly true to The Right, than a lawyer could get practice who should always do impartial justice to both sides; who should denounce all wrong without fear or favor; and who should always care more for the success of The Right than for the success of his client.

That part of the Republic of Letters wherein corrupting influences now most strongly center, is that treadmill for ready writers, that whirlpool of incoherences, and gossip, and things transient, the Periodical Press; and no one can know the strength and constancy of these influences, without some surprise that their main channel, or sewer, is no worse. The first great requisite in a Newspaper Establishment is *speed*: not only

* According to my definition of Bribery, a literature is bribed or corrupted when it is instigated or influenced by any other motive than the natural one. The natural motive for writing, as for speaking, is a desire to communicate to others the pleasure which our knowledges, ideas and emotions impart to ourselves: it is the same in the man of genius as in the prattling child: all true writing is an act of love, aiming to excite or diffuse love, and finding in increase of love an eternal reward.

the power of collecting more news, and more startling news, but of printing it five minutes sooner, than any of its competitors. An editor must assume omniscience if he have it not; and, in order to cope with the hourly editions of his neighbors, he should regularly enrich his pages with the news of next week. He ought also to weave in frequent and unequivocal compliments to his own wonderful energy and sagacity, and thus make every reader a free participant in the self-satisfaction which constantly overwhelms his soul. In this way, he may presently achieve the largest circulation, the showiest influence, and the largest income from black-mail and advertisements; the first item being of no worth to the newspaper publisher, any farther than it may help him to obtain the latter. For it should be understood, that a newspaper derives none of its revenues from its *readers*: they merely reimburse the publisher, in cents, for his payments to the paper-maker and ink-maker, made in dollars: he is under no more obligation to his subscribers for their 'patronage,' than the fisherman is to his shoal of mackerel for the bait that they consume; because they serve him only as they may indirectly and unconsciously help him to black-mail and advertisements from quack-doctors and speculators, politicians and public robbers. The reading that he gives to his customers, therefore, is surprisingly good, considering that he gets neither thanks nor money for it from any body; considering that it is only meant to last till the next trash-tide; considering that it is a bait to his advertisement-trap, and nothing more.

•

The foregoing sketch is defective in one point. It only takes in newspapers of the better sort, or the 'independent press.' It overlooks the party organs—the teachers of statesmanship and public virtue. These are generally inspired by some knot of 'pipe-layers,' or party managers and retainers, who pursue public office as a means of enabling themselves to steal without going to the state-prison; and sound policy requires that their organ-grinders should be in debt at the start, and kept too poor thereafter to be able to run away. Men thus situated secrete venom very fast, and soon come to regard themselves as first-class powers. Their vocation of public illuminator helps to inflame their self-conceit, and they soon learn to regard the public as their private flock, the dogging and shearing of which is their sacred prerogative, to be defended against all poachers and trespassers at the hazard of their lives.—They teach the voters modesty and submission by their preaching, and unlimited freedom by their example; for they make free with people's motives and privacy, whenever it will pay or be borne, without compunction or shame. I must do them the justice to acknowledge, however, that they seldom carry their insolence so far as to use *their own* consciences, or to domineer over what ought to be *their own* business; both being dutifully left to their party guides, so long as their hopes and fears are kept bright and their pockets empty. It is to the seeds of Insolence and Discord planted by this branch of our literati, that we are mainly indebted for the great social and political harvest now being reaped.

•

The fatal consequences of encouraging corruption in high and sacred places—of making public office a party bribe, and every public teacher a tool of faction—are now before our eyes, and do not need to be described. No man can be a *true* leader, either in religion or politics, who is not true to his own manhood. But it has long been the policy of our chief managers, to allow no one to gain or hold a leading position, who should *really* have a mind and conscience of his own. Our managers have long preferred tools whom they could use or cast down at will, to Men, who would only serve the public, and only bow to God. At length, under this system, the race of statesmen has become extinct, and the experts at lying and bribery have the whole field to themselves; a field which begins to teem with swords and bomb-shells, causing its sowers, or some of them, to think with shame of the true men whom they formerly persecuted. The people are to blame also; for they have followed base men knowingly, and cannot escape their reward. When the people range themselves under a true leader, a true master-mind, they all share his greatness, just as cyphers are magnified when you place a big figure before them. But when a sneaking trickster, with his bribes and flatteries, takes the lead, his followers are like a row of figures headed by a decimal point: the longer the row, the more infinitesimal is each figure's value.*

* As parties always make false issues, and mask their real object behind some vague truism, I will try to give a true Synopsis of American Party Strifes since the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789.

Let us now turn from saddening thoughts, and fancy a literature spontaneous and truthful—unbribed, unprostituted, unawed. Could the press be wholly raised above all cowardly and

The sharpest of all our political battles was the one which, in the First Congress, resulted in the establishment of the Funding System, and of a Paper Mint for the Speculating Interest, or a 'Bank of the United States.'

The more intelligent of the Producing Interest, under the lead of Jefferson, fought for twenty years to put down this Pitt-Hamilton system, and to divest the Speculating Interest of its supremacy. They were strong enough in 1811 to prevent the rechartering of the U. S. Bank.

As the overthrow of the Paper System here would, in time, subvert it in England, and destroy the rule of the men of prey in that island, the British government now interposed, forced upon us a three-years war, and a National Debt of \$128,000,000 ; which war and debt, with their accompanying financial derangements, ended in the creation of a U. S. Bank that was three-and-a-half times greater than its defunct predecessor. The 'Protective System' naturally followed. (*See Essay III.*)

Gen. Jackson, in his presidency, sought to bring about what Jefferson had failed to accomplish—AN HONEST CURRENCY, or one which should give the control of the *fruits* of useful labor to the *doers* of useful labor. He was opposed in this by the Speculating Interest, which was led by the U. S. Bank, with its numerous branches and attorneys, its \$35,000,000 capital, and its unlimited credit and powers of bribery.

The mercenaries of the political world now found a ready market, and no haggling about the price. A Jacksonian editor of this city, suddenly abandoning the error of his ways, received a loan of \$52,000, his note for which still constitutes a portion of the 'capital' of the Bank. A system of illegal voting was then inaugurated, which has since resulted in subjecting both parties to bands of gamesters, bullies and desperados.

At first, the class of political ruffians not being so

dishonest influences ; were its only prompter the love of noble natures for their kind ; were it an altar sacred to the living Truth, and Love and Wisdom the only offerings ; how benign and profitable would be its influences upon the human race ! Every book would image a naked heart

numerous in New-York as it now is, they were brought to our elections from other cities, taken from polling-place to polling-place, and furnished with changes of names and clothes whenever the old *alias* became untenable. To ensure the industry and fidelity of these journeymen-voters, they were paid so much per head or per gang in advance, and an equal amount afterwards provided they won the election. Thus, in a short time, the whole class of bawdy-house bullies and black-legs were actively enlisted : non-combatants till now, they soon got the balance of power, and next became **THE POWER**.

In the fall of 1840, disclosures were made to our chief judge for criminals, which implicated many of our smartest and most 'respectable' citizens in the election frauds of previous years ; and he seized a mass of papers and vouchers belonging to their chief agent for the importation of voters from Philadelphia. (This agent had lately received from the Governor and Senate, as a reward for his services, the lucrative office of Tobacco-Inspector ; and his papers showed that one of the Governor's Aids, together with the father of his Private Secretary, were leading members of the conspiracy.) Much sharp practice was now resorted to. An affidavit of the Tobacco-Inspector was brought forth, duly signed and certified, which, I have heard, never was actually sworn to. The Judge was put on the defensive ; or, rather, summarily removed without trial, for making too free with the private rights of criminals. The criminals came off conquerors, and have ever since been strengthening their dynasty, not only by increasing their numbers, but by forming 'rings' in our various legislative bodies, and so converting the machinery of government into engines of plunder. True men now shun the political arena, as wives and virgins shrink from the house of the barlot.

in the act of love, and making its love immortal. Had the world's literature always been of this kind—had it always been a faithful expression of the best minds, depicting their several observations and life-experiences with exactness—it would now be a tangible means of connecting all the living with all their ancestors. It would be a river of pure truth, taking its rise in the primitive Eden, keeping even pace with the flight of time, and linking year to year, century to century, generation to generation, the end to the beginning. It would enable every man to know the inner life of all ages. It would make the human race a single household, living in intimacy and affection—some younger and some older—some in the flesh and some out of the flesh—diverse in their experiences and their intellects, but one in interest and in heart. It would be a perpetual feast for all souls, with an endless variety of dishes, each good in its kind, each sharpening the appetite for another, and qualifying the mind to comprehend and digest another. There would be no insincerities to mislead, no crudities to stupefy the eager guest. When temporarily sated with naked facts, he could turn to the living principles whence facts are born. When overpowered by the glory of the fixed stars of truth, he could rest his sight on the rainbows of fancy. When his heart should become distracted with the multiplicity of its goods and pleasures, it could turn itself Godward, and melt them all into one. A perfect literature, therefore, would be a perfect river of life, connecting each soul with all souls, and opening all hearts to each.

Some may think that, in denying the right of a man to talk by contract, or 'for a consideration,' either from the pulpit or through the press, I oppose all *compensation* to intellectual strength or genius for the most arduous and most precious of all human labor, the work of the mind. But it is Corruption, with its resultant mischiefs, not Compensation, that I war against. False or artificial rewards place our leading minds in a false position, and make them deceivers instead of instructors, actors of manhood instead of men. He who binds himself, or is ordained by others, to deliver so many apples per week from his tree of knowledge, will often be forced to gather his apples green; or steal, or break his contract. Let men bargain as they may, God will not ripen their minds a bit the sooner, nor load their trees with one apple the more; and though they may keep up appearances by dexterous plagiarisms, as Mark Antony caught fish by the surreptitious aid of divers, all such trickery makes their influence poisonous, or productive of intoxication rather than strength. God undoubtedly meant that all men, especially all public exemplars and leaders, should support their physical frames by physical labor. He has capacitated us to create a great surplus of material wealth in our youth, and so earn an old age of leisure; when, so far as we may have been true learners in the school of experience, we shall be qualified to teach. He who begins to teach the world from other men's supposed or pretended knowledge when a boy, will be but a teacher of pretended knowledge all his life; receiving from old age only an increase

of self-conceit and effrontery, not an increase of wisdom. He who is truly wise, cannot need to prostitute his intellect for vulgar hire, nor depend on the sale of his thoughts for his daily bread; neither can the world ever suffer for lack of talk, should it leave all talkers to get their reward in God's own way. The compensation of the genuine teacher ought to be, and naturally is, co-equal in dignity and greatness with the service he renders. It is, naturally, more than the greediest man can ask for, or the wisest can fully conceive. It is eternal: not an eternal fixture, but an ever-spreading growth. For example—Euclid, ages ago, took the pains to systematize the cardinal truths of geometry; to separate them from all falsities and negligences, all assertions and assumptions, and present them pure. He gave to such as came to him the precise knowledges he possessed, without a single exaggeration or lie. He taught men his mode of reasoning; a mode which could never cheat a soul into any error. By simply doing a right thing rightly, he gave human Reason a rock whereon to stand; a realm where the snakes of error cannot propagate nor live; a light-house for the intellect; a clear and eternal ray of God. He thus helped to educate a Kepler and a Newton, a Herschel and a La Place; to build up the temple of modern science; to open countless secrets of nature to countless generations; to pave the way for a rational millennium, and open the spiritual heavens to the eyes of men. And, of the millions who have hitherto profited, directly or indirectly, by the teachings of Euclid, or who may profit by them here-

after, every one must for ever add something to that teacher's dignity and happiness ; for he cannot help feeling an eternal property in all the good that he has done, or occasioned, in any soul. No matter how small the amount of good may be in any case, provided that it be real ; a thread swaying the heart's love as perfectly as a cable, if it be rightly drawn. The love of the purified soul is indivisible : to its greatest benefactor the heart can give no more, to its least well-wisher no less, than ITS LOVE. It gives ' to every man a penny.' Love seems to become intensified, or deepened rather, by diffusion ; the wife's love for her husband increasing, when a child comes to share it ; and the man who loves thousands for the good that he has done them, giving more love to each recipient than the man does whose love is confined to a narrow clique.

Imperfect as this illustration is, it may serve to point out a most glorious law, God's Law of Compensation, with some distinctness. It will show that Nature's payments for faithful service, though small at first, are infinite ; that they never cease, and never cease to enlarge ; that the good we do to one man becomes a good to ten when it is ripened, and to tens of tens when its first fruits ripen—every day binding new receivers to the whole train of previous receivers, and strengthening as well as lengthening the love-hold of the giver ; who, when surcharged, must pass on the swelling reward to *his* Giver also.

Although I have taken a conspicuous well-doer to illustrate my proposition, the law which regulates Euclid's case extends equally to every one,

blessing the humblest doer or even wisher of good to others, as truly as it blesses a Socrates or a Jesus. The man whose arm is weak—the man of mere negative merit—is no more forgotten or passed by, than are the brightest glories of the human race. However feeble the doer of a good act may be, every good act is great in itself, and in its results. He who merely preserves his integrity—who neither trespasses on the rights of others out of pride or greed, nor allows the slaves of Mammon to crowd him out of the place and the rights which are *his*—is a true supporter of the Divine Order, and therefore a true *owner* of the blessedness which that order confers upon those who observe it freely. God loves finite beings, not for being great, but for doing right from the love of right; and, by so doing, a child can kindle as warm a love in God as an angel—a love whose fruits are equally procreant, and sweet, and enduring.

Neither is God's love, with its law of compensation, restricted to the doers of good alone.—The evil-doer can no more escape it than he can flee the universe; for it is infinite. The true name for Infinite Love is JUSTICE; for it embraces all moral life, and, like space in its relations to the physical universe, embraces all moral agents in an equal degree. It gives to every immoral act the reward that is fittest for it; to acts of dishonesty, rewards which strike at the very roots of dishonesty; to acts of pride, rewards which strike at the very life of pride.—Nature never plays the quack; never hurries; never quits a work of moral purification till it is

thoroughly done, and done without impairing the moral constitution of the patient. Thus, whenever a man suffers any votary of Mammon to debauch him—when he suffers any sect or party to overthrow his conscience, to break down his individuality and manhood, or to make him a conniver at wrong, he thereby becomes a partner with the whole crew of wrong-doers ; an enemy to and debaucher of the independence of others ; a propagator of human slavery and debasement ; a sower of the seeds of pollution ;—he creates evil, for a time, on a vast scale, and triumphs in it so long as his evil deeds seem only to injure others ;—but, when he comes to reap his harvest and take it home, as eventually he must ; when he finds that all the wrongs he ever imposed on others are still his own, with all their increase, and were really done to himself ; when he finds that he can never escape from them, or their consequences, till he abandons the evil desires whereby he was incited, and tears up the roots whence they sprung ; when he finds that he was constantly illustrating and subject to Divine Justice, even in the height of his fancied triumphs over it ;—when he traces out the effects of his dishonesties, in all their ramifications, from generation to generation, and considers the millions that he wronged in wronging one ; when he considers how false and illusive were the fancied prizes which he strove after—how hollow are the loudest praises that low ambition ever wins—how diseasing to himself, and corrupting to his children, were all his ill-got riches, even during the brief intoxication when he supposed stolen

goods to be riches, and fancied them his own ;—when all these truths, with all their corollaries and accessories, shall be placed immovably before him, his own experience and conscience bearing witness to them constantly ; then will his faith in Mammon be utterly shaken, and his possession by the Spirit of Pride and Injustice be wholly at an end. Then will he have learnt the lesson of true humility, and so be capacitated for entering into the purest and sweetest joys of the highest angels. He will be able to rejoice in every wound that his Pride and Selfishness may receive, and feel that wounds to them are wounds to *him* no longer. And, when fully redeemed from Pride, he will find deliverance from Remorse also. He will see that all his evil deeds were overruled for good, and wrought good in the end to those whom they most injured in the beginning : That, if others had not made themselves vulnerable to evil by cherishing dishonest cravings of their own, his evils could have found no root-hold in them, nor have done them even temporary harm : That, in aggravating the tendencies to evil in others, he not only hastened their ripening, but caused them all the sooner to receive their reward and die. He will evermore feel that, while struggling against Divine Justice he won Justice ; and, while withholding Justice from others, he involuntarily helped them to win it also. He will evermore feel, and know from intense experience, that Justice is nothing less than Love Immutable ; and that Love Immutable is nothing less than God—*his God*—a God whom he fiercely struggled with, but eventually yielded to, and, by yielding, won.

The probable duration of Mammon's kingdom—a question which we promised to consider—can no longer be a real question to those who shall fully grasp the truths just presented; for, like the kings of Bedlam, Mammon has no real throne to endure or to be destroyed. Taking the human race as a whole, or as a single ever-growing power, it is certain that Mammon's dominion over it must be weakened by every triumph of human reason, and that every year's experience must raise countless souls to a height where his hallucinations can sway them no more. The laws of the moral universe must every year become better and more widely known; and, in proportion as they are known will they be respected. The same rule which governs in regard to physical laws, will hold good here. In time, men will respect the laws of their moral nature, as fully as they now respect the law of gravitation while standing on a precipice, or the law of combustion when over a furnace. The errors of the past will be shunned by all who have felt, and who truly understand, their attendant penalties; though Habit and Fashion may prolong their life, or semblance of life for a little time. But Truth cannot be kept down long. As, when the leaves are most wildly tossed by the blasts of November, or the dust by a whirlwind, the majestic force of Gravitation still maintains its hold upon each distracted object, and silently restores it to earth's peaceful bosom in the end; so is it, even when the storms of passion rage highest, and Mammon's hallucinations prevail most strongly, among the feeble children of men: in the height

of their fantasies, and their runnings after false goods, The Infinite Good maintains its interior hold upon them, ready to lead all their blighted loves and aspirations up toward Itself, so soon as their selfish madness shall pass away, and the transient shall give place to the eternal. No matter whether the soul and its passions be weak or strong, nor whether its madness be momentary or chronic; Wisdom is stronger than Folly, Love is diviner than Lust, God is greater than Mammon, and the triumph of God over all things base and hostile is sure.

If we turn from these seemingly remote yet ever-operative generalities, and consider the state of things at present, we shall find many indications that the triumph just predicted, so far as finance and politics are concerned, is not only certain but near. There are causes now palpably operating, which, I think, can hardly fail to destroy, ere long, the whole structure of political government as now existing, (first here, but soon every where) and to establish a grand scheme of MORAL GOVERNMENT or TRUE ORDER in its place; a system which, instead of having the maintenance of Artificial Monopoly for its end, and Lying and Bribery for its means,* will wholly

* That governments now mainly govern by Corruption, is known if not said by all practical statesmen.—Hamilton, replying to a remark of John Adams when Jefferson was present, (see his Ana,) lamenting the corruptions of the British Government, said, If you destroy its corruptions, or its power of corruption, you render it imbecile and impracticable.—Sir Thomas More, speaking under the mask of Raphael Hythloday, says that the governments of Europe were little else than ‘a conspi-

rest on its own Moral Power for public support, and on the Moral Excellence of its laws and administrators for its efficiency. I see no other door of escape from our present great public distresses. The speedy bankruptcy of the federal government, and of most of our state and local governments, seems inevitable; when their power to keep Industry in bondage to Usury will probably cease. Brute-force and impudence cannot rule the world without money; and, the farther they carry the world from Natural Right, the more money they must have. In 1810, the expenses of the federal government (exclusive of payments on its debt) were only \$5,311,082—not a twelfth part of the amount of that year's exports. Its dues next year, for the item of interest alone, may equal *the total amount of next year's exports*; and there will be the expenses of the army, the navy, and the civil list, besides. The power of borrowing, now used at the rate of one billion per annum, will soon be exhausted. There is an element of weakness in the federal debt now being made, from which private and voluntary money-debts are exempt, viz.: When a commercial debt is made, the debtor commonly receives property enough from the creditor, to enable him to meet the debt at pay-day. If I run in debt \$20 for a cow, her milk will enable

racy of the richer sort,' who, under pretence of serving the public, have taken all the land and means of industry to themselves, and thus got control of all the wealth or goods which poor men's industry produces.—Such a state of things could neither be established nor kept up without continual Bribery.

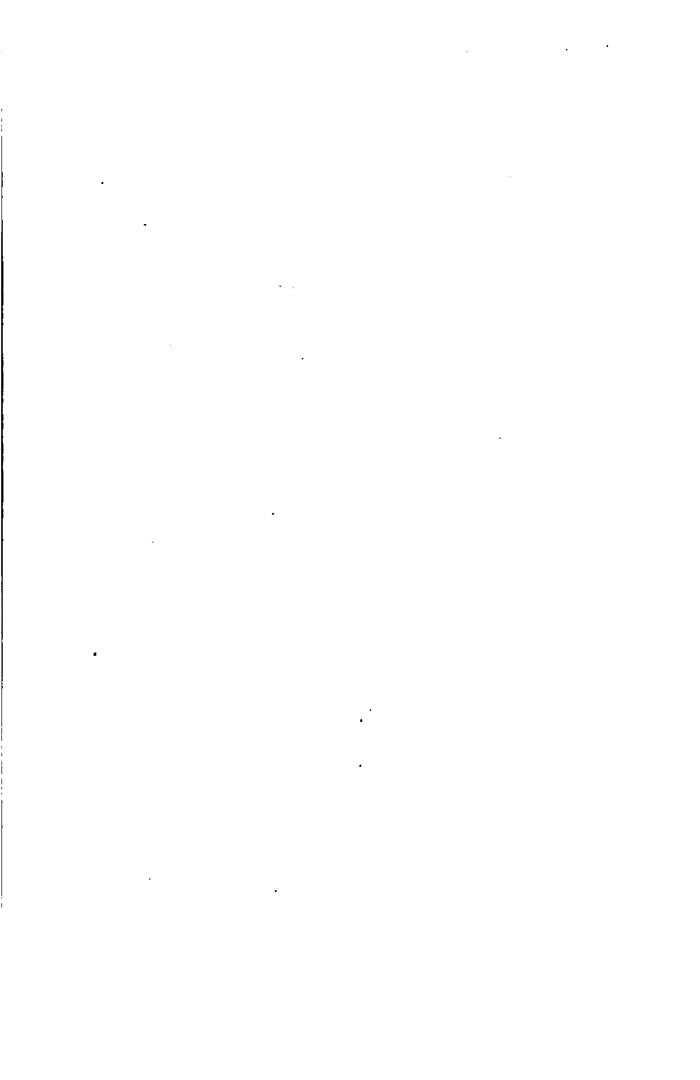
me to pay the \$20 in a year; or, by reselling the cow, I may cancel the debt at once. But the tax-payers of the union, or of the northern states—the producers of wealth, upon whom the debt being run up by the present administration must eventually rest, (a weight placed on any part of a house being virtually placed on its foundation-stones)—get no cattle, or commercial value of any sort, wherewith to meet either principal or interest. On the contrary, the money raised on their credit is used to destroy the means of payment which they previously possessed. It is spent, not in providing them with farms, or shops, or increased means of production, but in enticing vast armies of able-bodied men from productive labor, to play the blood-hound in an Abolition chase after eight millions of run-away freemen. Hence they *cannot* pay what government has decreed that they *shall* pay. They will have to resist the decree of government, and fight the tax-gatherer unitedly for their lives; and, though all their lives should be lost in the conflict, the tax-gatherer would still be defeated, and the government would be a bankrupt still. But the struggle will result otherwise. The people will resume the Power of the Purse—the mastery of *their own honestly-gotten property or earnings*—to themselves INDIVIDUALLY, and leave to government simply the Power of the Sword. They will break down a system which places all the wealth created by Labor at the mercy of political banditti; which makes the Workman a slave to the Office-holder, and the Office-holder a slave to Party. They will make the *state* as well as the

church dependant on the Voluntary Principle, or the voluntary contributions of honest men, for support ; leaving its officers full power, however, to punish knaves and trespassers of every sort, and even power to exclude from the roads and public buildings all wilful non-contributors and lazy shirks. Government, then, would no longer be the tool of the master-knaves of the winning party *pro tem.*; but the agent and watchman of, and directly responsible to, *every* citizen whom it should profess to serve. Each citizen could then say to the office-holders, *Honest service or no pay*; while the office-holder could say to the citizen, *Honest payment or no service*. Bad men would then have no more inducement to seek public office, than would bad musicians to give public concerts ; while good officers, who should do good service to The Right, would obtain both profit and honor. Government would have neither power nor inducement to uphold gigantic monopolies and aristocracies, or to pamper the few and plunder the many. It would become righteous, and a promoter of righteousness, from interest as well as necessity ; the apparent reign of Mammon over the nations of the earth would be ended ; and the supremacy of Justice, or the God of Justice, would be *plainly visible to men's understandings*, as well as beneficent, unchangeable and eternal.

March, 1862.









THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED
THE COST OF OVERDUE NOTIFICATION
IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO
THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST
DATE STAMPED BELOW.

BOOK DUE

MAILED 4 1978

SEP 13 1978
5765086

